2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



ward migration was involuntary; the southerners were forced out from their former habitat by the competition of alien tribes. Naturally, in the course of their wandering, they left some traces which have been disclosed by the work of archaeologists. Skeletal finds also have shown that northern Siberia was primarily inhabited by a long-headed people of the Nordic type who had come from the west, and who were assimilated or else annihilated by Mongoloid newcomers from the south. Many of these questions still await solution through the work of archaeologists. 172

We have some knowledge of prehistoric Yakut monuments through the recent work of Russian archaeologists, chiefly Petri, whose excavations in the region of Lake Baikal revealed many remains of a horse and cattle breeding tribe, in all probability, the prehistoric Yakut.[1]

The identifications by the chief zoologist of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Bialanitski-Birula, of animal bones found at the Murino sites and the caves of Orkhon show that these are chiefly the remains of domesticated animals—of oxen, rams, goats, and horses. Remains of wild animals, the products of hunting, are very scarce, proving that the people were cattle breeders. Besides, no traces of agriculture were found to the north of Lake Baikal, presenting negative evidence that the prehistoric inhabitants were herders. Further, Bialanitski-Birula [231] pointed out that the ox of these people, like that of the Yakut, was a cross-breed of the yak. Among the iron arrows were found many with bifurcated heads, a characteristic of Yakut arrows.[2] The iron knives and scissors found have the same distinguishing marks as Yakut knives, as will be shown in the discussion of their iron industry. The horseshoe [492] found in the excavations is exactly like the Yakut horseshoe; it is narrow, with holes for nails and one calk in the middle. The Siberian natives, even in stony mountainous places, seldom shoe their horses. The iron bits of an ancient bridle consisted of two unequal parts, without appendages in the corners. This may be explained by the manner in which the rider held the reins on the left side of the horse as do the present Yakut. Modern Yakut bits consist of two equal parts, a form which may be regarded as having been adopted from the Russians, from whom the Yakut learned to harness horses to sledges and carts, for which long reins are necessary. Formerly, the Yakut used the horse only as a riding and pack animal. Appurtenances of horse harness show that the people bred horses. An iron sickle for hay making was found by Petri. It is quite different from the Russian form and resembles the present Yakut sickle.

[1] Petri, E. B., The Prehistoric Blacksmiths of Cis-Baikalia. Chita, 1923. (In Russian).
[2] See Sieroszewski, V. A., The Yakut. Vol. 1 (*Published by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg*, 1896 in Russian).

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



actually: *chaska* and *bludéchko*, demonstrating that both vessels were adopted from the Russians. On the other hand, all the wooden goblets and other kumiss vessels have genuine Yakut-Turkic names.

Fig. 63*a* is a silver disc (*tusaxta*) used for the decoration of the front of the top of a woman's fur cap. The engraved ornamentation represents

Fig. 64 *a* (70–9165), *b* (70–9139), *c* (70–8519). Riding Gear. *a*, *c*, Whips with silver ornamented handles; *b*, Silver ornamented bridle.

a symbolic plant pattern. In Fig. 63*b* is illustrated a silver belt buckle called *biräskä*, the Yakut version of the Russian word, *pryáshka*. Of interest is the central ornament consisting of connecting curves.

Two whips with handles ornamented in silver and a similarly decorated bridle are illustrated in Fig. 64*a–c*. Whips so decorated are

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



326 usually used by rich women riders. The bridle has reins of soft dressed
● 492 elk leather and is decorated with many pendants like those in the illustra-
531 tion (Fig. 65).
282 The front of a saddle (*yñȳr*) ornamented with a silver hook and a silver plate is shown in Fig. 66. The plate of hammered silver is engraved with curvilinear figures and fastened to the wooden frame of the saddle with silver nails. Fig. 67 gives a side view of the same saddle. To the wooden base a feather cushion (*tūnā*) is attached with leather strips. On the cushion are two brass discs called *bātūgūr oyulōx*. Leather side skirts (*kychym*) of dressed elkskin cover the body of the horse and are ornamented with leather tassels and decorated with beads, curved silver and brass figures and discs. It is of interest to note that the stirrups (*isāñā*) are attached to the front of the saddle and that, in comparison with European or American stirrups, they are short, so that the horseman rides with knees bent. In the Yakut collection in the Museum are *kychyms* of cloth embroidered with silk and silver thread. Between the cushion and the *kychym* in Fig. 67 we see three leather saddle girths. These are of ox or elk leather or plaited of horsehair (of the mane or tail). Fig. 68 shows a detached *kychym* decorated with leather tassels, red cloth, and velvet, as well as with silver and lead. Fig. 69 represents a silver saddle hook to which the reins are tied when the horse waits for the rider.

Fig. 65 (70-9139). Silver Ornaments on the Bridle illustrated in Fig. 64*b*.

A curry comb with silver rings (Fig. 70) is attached to the saddle. A mosquito beater (Fig. 71) for a horse rider is made of horsehair from the tail or mane attached to a silver ornamented handle. A completely saddled horse with all the accouterments is illustrated in Fig. 72. A saddle cover (*dōpsō*) of fur, decorated with variously formed and colored strips of the same material is illustrated in Fig. 74.

492 Fig. 73 shows a rich Yakut woman in festive attire with her riding horse fully accoutered, with a cover on the saddle as well as side and hind covers. Women usually like white horses.

Fig. 75 shows a wooden pack saddle (*xañxa*) on a straw cushion (*xañxa bototo*). The straw pad for a riding saddle is called *ynȳr bototo*.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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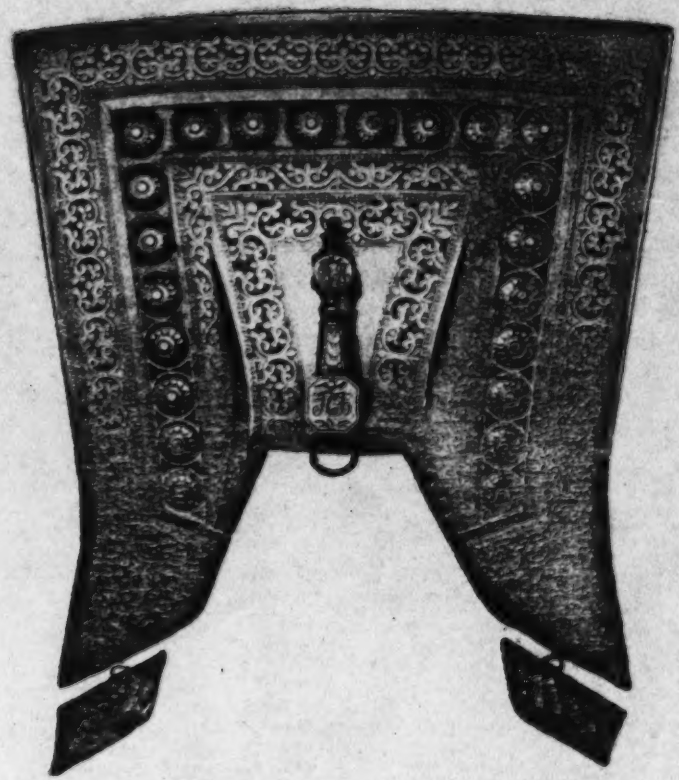

Fig. 66 (70-9136). The Front of a Saddle (See Fig. 67) ornamented with Engraved and Hammered Silver.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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Fig. 67 (70-9136). Side View of the Silver-Ornamented Saddle illustrated in Fig. 66.

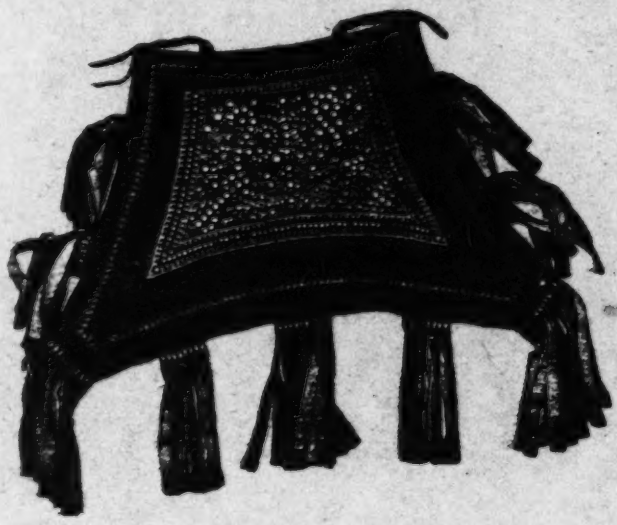

Fig. 68 (70-9138). Silver and Lead Ornamented Saddle Cloth.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut (RV-2)
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In Fig. 76 may be seen an old Yakut in winter dress, mounted on horseback; a double saddle bag is thrown over the saddle and his traveling bedding is tied to the straps behind. The double saddle bag is called *bārāmat* or *pārāmādāi*, from the Russian *peremĕt* or *peremĕtnaya*.

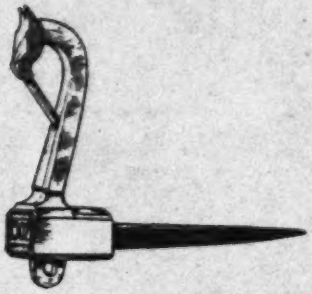

Fig. 69 (70–9115). A Silver Saddle Hook.

Fig. 70 (70–9168). A Curry Comb decorated with Silver Bands.

Fig. 71 (70–8577). A Horsehair Mosquito Brush with Silver Decorated Handle used by Horsemen.

## Agriculture

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In the history of colonization of Yakutsk Province, agricultural colonization occupied a secondary place, although it began immediately after the foundation of the Lensky Fortress, later named Yakutsk (1632). The Russian colonists were attracted to places suitable for agriculture in the Lena Valley and its tributaries. The Government, in its anxiety to provide the Yakutsk and other garrisons with bread, was greatly in-

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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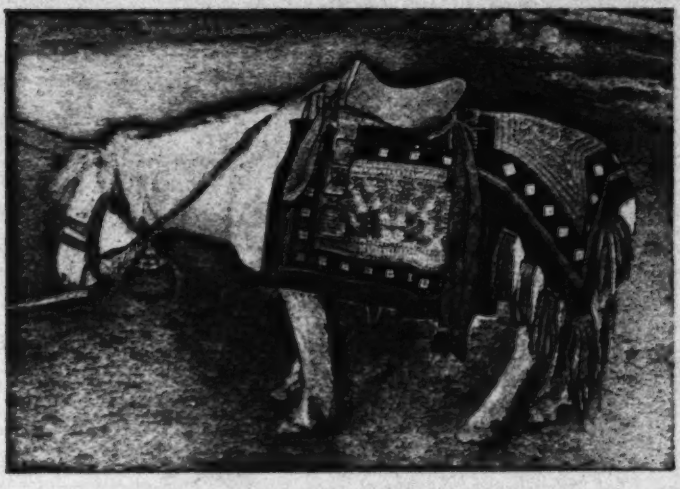

Fig. 72. A Saddled Horse with Decorated Side and Hind Covers.

Fig. 73. A Rich Yakut Woman and Her Riding Horse.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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Fig. 74 (70-8572). A Fur Saddle Cover decorated with Varicolored Strips of Fur to form Geometric Patterns.

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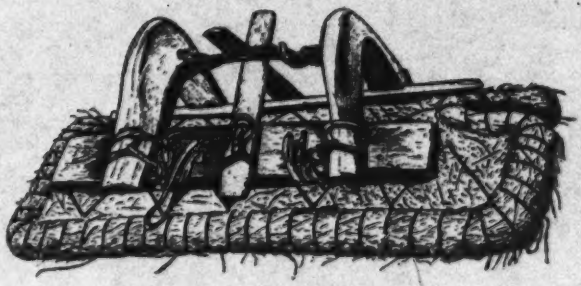

Fig. 75 (70-8815). A Wooden Pack Saddle with Grass Pad.

Fig. 76. A Yakut in Winter Dress on Horseback.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



Fig. 77*a* shows a Yakut man and woman transporting a Yakut plow on an ox-drawn sledge. The method of plowing may be seen in Fig. 77*b*. A model of an ox sledge is illustrated in Fig. 78. Even in summer it is much easier to transport freight on sledges where there are no roads.

### Transportation

Outside the City of Yakutsk, the use of the wheeled cart, adopted from the Russians, is very limited throughout the Province. Roads suitable for wheeled transport are rare. They extend only 1036 kilometers: from Yakutsk to Viliuisk (600 km.) and from Viliuisk to Suntar (436 km.). I myself had the opportunity to use a wheeled cart when traveling from Yakutsk about sixty miles to the east to the Churupcha settlement.

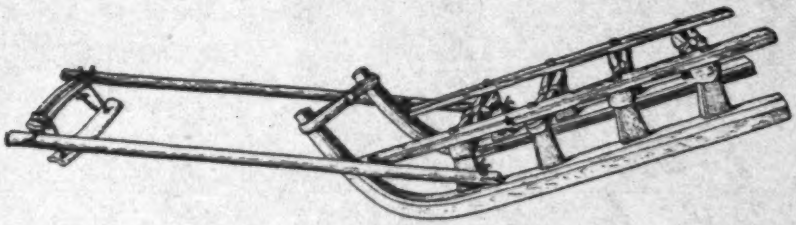

Fig. 78 (70-8832). Model of an Ox Sledge.

All the other roads are swampy and in summer were passable only on horseback; even this means of transportation is very difficult, particularly in the northern districts. In winter sledges are everywhere drawn by horses; in the northern districts reindeer and dogs are also used. Many Tungus, Lamut, and Yukaghir use the reindeer for riding, particularly in the mountainous districts between the great rivers. In summer small steamers ply the Lena and Viliui rivers. On the Yana, Indighirka, and Kolyma rivers and their tributaries large boats are used for carrying freight as well as for passengers. During the winter freight carried on pack-horses or by reindeer sledges from the shores of the Okhotsk Sea (Okhotsk, Yamsk, Ayan or Ola) over the mountains to the upper course of the Kolyma River, is floated down on pontoon-like rafts consisting of two large boats covered with a bridge. Such rafts are provided with a rudder and are propelled with long poles. As they cannot be poled up the river they are sold to the inhabitants of Nishne Kolymsk, who make boats of different sizes from them. Recently I learned that a steamer coming through Bering Strait now visits Nishne Kolymsk every summer, bringing flour and other commodities for sale or exchange for furs.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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Fig. 79. A Sledge Load of Hay being reduced by the Nibblings of the Always-Hungry Cattle. The sledge is attached to the rider's saddle by means of a thong.

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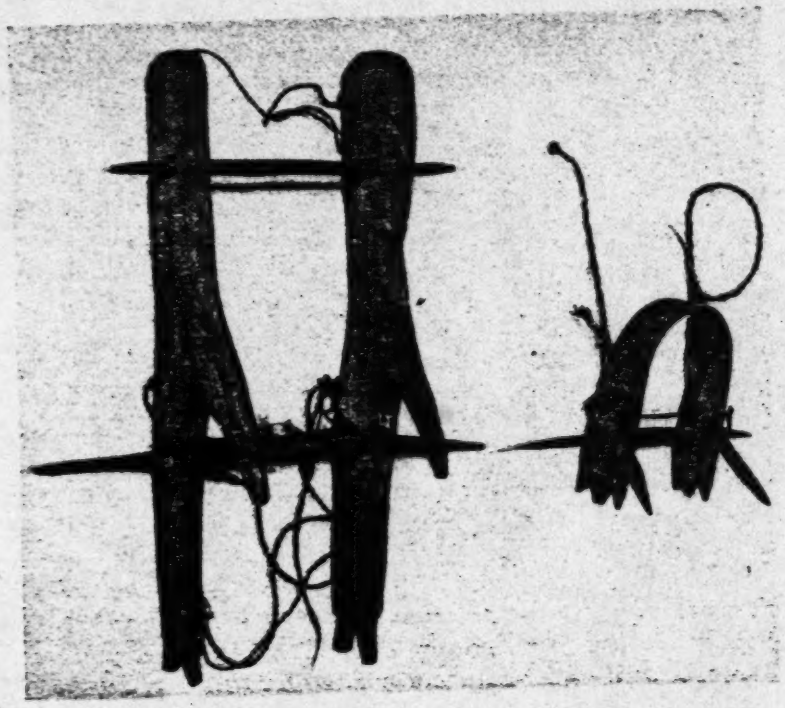

*a* *b*

Fig. 80 *a* (70-8900), *b* (70-8901). Muzzles for Young Domesticated Animals. *a*, Muzzle for a calf to prevent it from feeding; *b*, Muzzle for a year-old colt.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



In 1917 there was an increase in horses and horned cattle as compared with the preceding years. In 1925, after the revolution, the number of both decreased.

The census of 1917 showed that each Yakut household of the southern three districts had an average of 9.3 horned cattle and 2.4 horses. The two northern districts, Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk, had in addition 1.758 driving dogs and 18.148 reindeer, 5.485 horned cattle, and 4.886 horses per household. The inhabitants of Yakut Province have, on the average, twice as many horses and five times as many horned cattle as the population of the rest of Russia.

The Yakut domesticated animals were originally obtained from the Kirghiz, but have deteriorated in the far north. They are smaller and

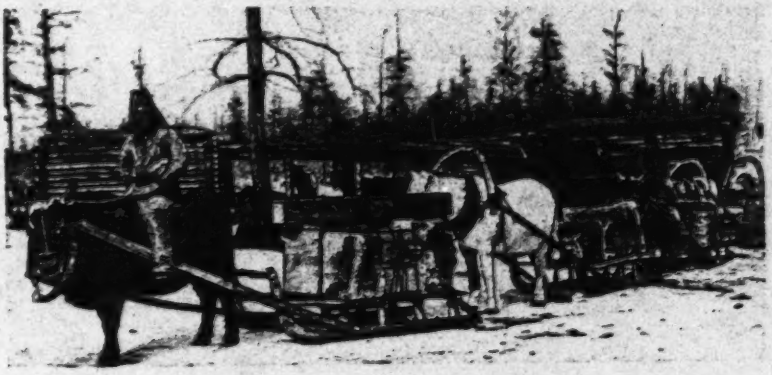

Fig. 81. The Method of Transporting the Museum Collections from the Verkhoyansk Mountain Ridge to Yakutsk City.

less prolific than the original strain. The average weight of a living ox is 320 kilograms and of a cow 220 kilograms, while the corresponding weights of a Kirghiz cow and ox is, on the average, 900 and 560 kilograms.

The average annual milk product of a Yakut cow is only about 560 kilograms, but the fat content is relatively high, from 5 to 7 per cent.

That the Yakut horned cattle are small and less productive may be explained by the unfavorable conditions for food and shelter. The cattle are put out to grass pasture from June to October. Two-thirds of the year, as the result of the long winter and severe frosts, they are sheltered in stalls, where they receive very scanty rations of hay, often of poor quality. In addition, the stalls are small, dark, and dirty.

*Reindeer Breeding.* The domesticated reindeer is reared in the northern districts of Yakut Province, chiefly by the Chukchee, Koryak,

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut



Tungus, Lamut, and Yukaghir. But the northern Yakut also keep reindeer for driving as well as riding and have also introduced advanced methods in reindeer breeding. The Yakut reindeer is taller and stronger than that of their neighbors. Reindeer breeding is, nevertheless, a secondary occupation. Rich Yakut reindeer owners do not wander with their herds, but hire special Tungus herders. The Yakut herd owners lead a sedentary or semi-sedentary life.[1]

According to official statistical data for the end of the nineteenth century, there were, in Siberia, about 20,000 reindeer, of which number the Yakut owned a little over 15,000.[2]

*Dog Breeding.* The rearing of driving dogs is concentrated chiefly in the northern and northeastern parts of Yakut Province. In 1910 there were about 1,762 driving dogs in the Kolyma District and about 470 in the Verkhoyansk District, a total of 2,232. But there are no data as to the number of dogs owned by the Yakut alone. In the Kolyma District it was estimated that there was one dog to every twenty-four inhabitants and in the Verkhoyansk District, one to every eight.

*Breeding of Swine, Sheep, Fowl, and Bees.* These branches of farming are maintained, to a small extent, chiefly by Russians, in the southern cities. According to the census of 1917, there were 1148 swine: in Yakutsk District, 1020; in Olekminsk, 124; and in Viliuisk, only 4. Although sheep were introduced in Yakutsk Province in the middle of the nineteenth century, they did not increase much in number. In 1917 there were only 354: in Yakutsk District, 313; in Olekminsk, 37; and in Viliuisk, 4. Fowl (hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys) are kept only in the cities and chiefly for their eggs by Russians.

Not far from Yakutsk, the *skoptzy*[1] made unsuccessful attempts to rear bees.

[1] [A Russian religious sect -- ANALYST]

[1] For particulars as to different types of reindeer breeding see Jochelson, Yukaghir.

[2] In the opinion of the author the total number of reindeer in Siberia, in general, as well as the number owned by Yakut, are greatly under-estimated in the official reports.

7: Shklovsky -- 33 T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116, 194, 492, 634

" It was the time of the summer general assembly (1) in Sredne Kolymsk, and Yakuts

1. There are two general assemblies, one in summer and one in winter.

came from the remotest parts of the district, from Verkhne Kolymsk, Alazei, etc. The 'street,' if it can so be described, was crowded and noisy. Numbers of Yakuts were constantly arriving on horseback at the house of the clerk where the assembly was held. Petty chiefs of small clans scornfully regarded the 'unofficial' people, constantly arranging their bead belts, from which hung old cutlasses, the gift of Catherine II to their ancestors. Near the house there were many horses tied up to poles. The extraordinarily high saddles, with large cushions adorned with copper and silver ornaments, would doubtless greatly astonish the ordinary cavalry man accustomed to Cossack and English saddles. From our windows could be heard the incessant hum of the guttural Yakutian language, which Gilder considered as sonorous and soft as a mixture of Italian and Irish. "

10: Bush--161 [2] T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 157, 439, 492

"The Yakouts are a very quiet, inoffensive people, industrious, ingenious, and gifted with a natural business tact. They might, with propriety, be called the Yankees of Siberia. It is not uncommon to meet them in the most isolated regions with long trains of deer laden with trinkets of all kinds, which they peddle out to the nomadic tribes in exchange for pelts."

11: Lansdell--296 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 346, 361, 492

"The town of Yakutsk, which the natives proudly call 'the city of the Yakutes,' presents a curious medley of dwellings; for there are seen not only the Government buildings, and the wooden houses of the Russians, but also the less pretentious winter dwellings of the Yakutes, and even their summer yourts. Oxen here take the place of horses. Women and girls ride them astride; their sledges also are often drawn by them, the driver being mounted on one of the animals. The cathedral is built of stone, and dedicated to St. Nicolas; and there are in the town some half-dozen churches, in which certain parts of the service, if not the whole, are performed in the Yakute language. The chief ecclesiastic is Dionysius, Bishop of Yakutsk and Viluisk, who has in his hyperborean diocese 49 churches and chapels, and one monastery containing 13 monks."

11: Lansdell--302 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 171, 291, 492

"The dress of the Yakutes resembles in its main features that of the other natives of Siberia, save, perhaps, that they are fonder of ornaments. Both sexes riding a good deal on oxen and horses, a perpendicular slit is made up the back from the bottom of the sanayakh, or upper garment, in order to render the wearer comfortable in the saddle, and some of the women add behind them a cushion or pad, to save them from the rough motion of the animals. During the milder part of the year a robe, made of very pliable leather, stained yellow, is worn, which indoors is frequently laid aside, and males and females sit by the fire, leaving the upper part of the body naked."

11: Lansdell--304 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 231, 241, 492

"The Yakutes who inhabit the inclement region adjacent to the Frozen Ocean have neither horses nor oxen, but breed large numbers of dogs, which draw them to and fro on their fishing excursions. Even those living on the 62nd parallel keep cattle under far greater difficulties than usual, for they have to make long journeys to collect hay, and do not always find enough. The cold prevents their breeding sheep, goats, or poultry. Nevertheless, cattle and hunting are their chief means of subsistence, for they do not in general cultivate the land, though in the gardens at Yakutsk are grown potatoes, cabbages, radishes, and turnips; gherkins, too, are reared in hot-beds."

"After proceeding for some distance the traveller [RCH: on a journey from Yakutsk to Okhotsk] has to exchange his horse for a novel kind of steed--a reindeer, on which the mere gaining of one's seat, to say nothing of keeping it, is by no means so easy as might be supposed. * Having gained his reindeer [307] seat, the English traveller may keep it--

> * To get on the animal's back, as one would mount a donkey, would probably cripple the deer for life. The saddle is therefore placed on its shoulder close to the neck, and to mount, the rider, holding the bridle, stands at the right side of the animal, with his face turned forwards. He then raises his left foot to the saddle, which he never touches with his hands, and springing with the right leg, and aided also by a pole, which he holds in his right hand, he gains his seat. The native girls and women are as expert in this jumping as the men, and rarely want assistance in mounting.

if he can. He will most likely fall off half-a-dozen times in the first quarter of an hour, until he discovers that he must poise himself in such a manner that his body may continually, and with ease, lend itself to a swinging motion. * There is a second lesson to be

> * The practised reindeer riders acquire the habit of striking gently with the heel, alternately right and left, at every step, just behind the animal's

> shoulders. This is done, not for the purpose of stimulating the deer, but because the motion described is the surest means of maintaining equilibrium. The staff, too, with which the rider mounts is carried in his hand, and is used for maintaining an equipoise in riding; but any attempt of the rider, in the first critical moment, to support himself by resting the staff on the ground, is sure to end in his being unseated.

learned by the uninitiated, which is usually imparted in a very impressive manner; for should the cavalier attempt to hold with the knees, and the cushion consequently slip back, the moment the weight is felt on the animal's back, he bends under his haunches and lets the rider slip to the ground, and that perhaps in ice, snow, or a pool of water.

As the traveller approaches Okhotsk he has again to change his mode of conveyance, to be drawn this time by dogs. All three methods of travel have their delights on this lonely journey, the tedium of which is sometimes relieved by an extemporary hunting scene.† [RCH: for text of footnote see category 116, pp. 307-308]"

"The difficulties of the summer journey are somewhat different in character [RCH: from the winter journey from Yakutsk to Okhotsk]. A large part of the way lies over swampy ground, on which the causeways are not kept in repair, and where the horses flounder in mud and water, into which they occasionally pitch the rider. It is no uncommon thing for horses to die under the fatigues of the way. The Yakutes, moreover, have a cruel fashion of giving their horses little food whilst journeying. A similar custom obtains farther east, among the Gilyaks, where I found that, though they gave a dog two pieces of fish daily when at home, yet, when travelling, they gave him only one, because the dogs immediately after eating are always lazy and feeble. *

* It does not appear that the Yakutes are otherwise cruel to their horses, for Erman relates that, on going up to a horse that had carried him many miles, to pat his neck by way of saying adieu, the Yakutes came up and embraced the other horses, putting their arms round their necks and hugging them like children. Mr. Hill, too, discovered in a very practical way the regard of the Yakutes for their horses, when, food having run short, and after a dinner of only cranberries and nuts, he proposed that one of the animals should be killed and eaten, the Yakutes replied that they never killed one of their horses until they had passed five whole days together without any sort of food. It would be a shame, they said, that while they

had tea and a morsel of sugar, and the prospect before them of getting other food, one of the poor creatures should be slain. Mr. Hill, therefore, and his merchant friend had to take their guns and hunt for game, with a keenness which they had never known before.

These, then, are some of the difficulties of the old route, from Irkutsk to the Pacific, which happily it did not fall to my lot to be obliged to encounter; but I crossed the Baikal instead, and, after making a détour to the Chinese frontier, continued across the Buriat steppe to the Amur."

17: Erman--266-267 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 342, 361, 492

"The tract of country which follows [RCH: from Neleusk to Olekma] is well peopled with Yakuts, whose winter dwellings always stand alone, in wide grassy lawns, in the midst of the prevailing pine woods. Here, too, the rectangular wooden huts are flat-roofed and plastered with cow dung, and the doors, for want of planking, are covered over with hairy ox hides. Flakes of ice fill the windows, yet in some of the yurts, bladder is used instead of these. The Yakutian sledges, which we met with continually were, like those of the Buraets, drawn by oxen, on one of which the driver rode. At the same time horses have been used here for riding fromearly [267] ages, as is proved indeed by the peculiarities of the Yakutian horse furniture. Their saddles have unusually thick stuffing, on which the rider sits, squeezed in between two high and perpendicular boards. The white colour of the horses decidedly gains ground here, along with the Yakutian population."

17: Erman--299 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 492

"The Yakuts use, for protection against the cold, a broad and serpentine tippet (in their language, moitruk) of black squirrel tails, gloves of fox fur (utélek,) and a cap (bergésa) of striped cloth, which covers the forehead and part of the face, with a bordering of glutton skin. I have observed with some Yakutian girls, a kind of leathern cushion, which they wore under the sanayakh and over the drawers. The object of this was, probably, to mitigate the hardships of riding on oxen; perhaps, too, it might be compared with a somewhat similar piece of dress worn by the Chuvashian women."

18: Priklonski--82 E-5 (no date) 1891 Yakut
492

It must be borne in mind that vehicles on wheels have not been in use among the Yakuts until thirty or forty years ago, and the use of horses before a carriage is even more recent. In former times those who could not ride on horseback, e. g. children or sick persons, would move on a sledge drawn by an ox, through the whole year. It may be no more than fifteen years ago that noble Yakut women, paying visits to one another, still drove on peasants' sledges which were covered only with rugs, at summer time. The sledge driver rides on the ox, holding in his left hand a bridle to which a wooden ring is attached. The ring is fixed in the nostrils of the ox.

38: Dobell--37 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 231, 492

"Horses are their peculiar care, because they are profitable for hiring to the government, and to the merchants, for the transport of flour and merchandize; and because, likewise, the favorite beverage of the people, khoomiss, is not considered really good unless made of mare's milk. They certainly rob the colts of their due; a circumstance that prevents their growth. Notwithstanding this, they have a good, strong, hardy race of horses; who will live on bushes when there is no grass, and are certainly the most docile and indefatigable animals I have ever seen of the horse kind. The Yakuts, however, in most respects, are kind masters and never beat a horse until all manner of mild means have been used; and then scolding is employed to try and make him tractable. Horse-flesh also is their favorite food, which they declare is much lighter and better flavored than beef. They use oxen about their homes for drawing wood and hay; and both the horses and cattle resemble those of the Tartars of the Step of Baraba, as much as the Yakuts themselves do that people."

40: Burr--103-104 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 231, 492

"Among the mammals, Siberia is very rich in members of the deer family, one of which, the reindeer, plays a vital part in the economy of the natives. The distribution of this creature depends upon its staple food, the so-called reindeer moss, which, properly speaking, is a lichen, Cetraria, or Cladonia rangiferina. It is not too much to say that, but for this lowly plant, the native population could not exist, for it is the sole food of the reindeer, upon which they depend not only for transport, but for milk, meat and clothing. They are not strong animals, and can pull only a light load; the Yakuts harness them to little sleds such as children use at home, and two men will tuck themselves on board, their feet sticking out, and it takes a couple of reindeer to pull them. But if they cannot pull much, they can pull fast and far, and are superior to the horse for covering distance [104] quickly. Another advantage is that their keep costs nothing. On arrival at his destination, a Yakut will put a pole through their horns and turn them out into the taigá. They wander about, scratching away the snow to expose the fat lichen underneath, while the pole through the horns catches in the trees and prevents them from wandering too far. Next morning the Yakut has no difficulty in tracing their great splay spoor through the snow and recovering them. They are gentle beasts, with the beautiful lustrous eyes of the deer family. Russians, who are not as a rule squeamish, generally refuse to shoot them or treat them as game for this reason.

The Yakuts also milk them; their milk is said to be very rich and creamy."

40: Burr --107-108 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 177, 281, 291, 352, 492

" The Yakuts evidently have a sense of the beautiful, for their clothing, made of the skins of reindeer, horse and dog, are not only very warm and comfortable, but decidedly pleasing to look at. The blending of the browns, blacks, fawn and white has an excellent effect, and is usually worked out in a chequered pattern in very good taste. They are expensive, though, and I was asked three hundred roubles for an outfit, about thirty pounds. But nowadays, of course, they have disappeared from use before Russian factory products. There was a specimen of a kamalán or rug, made in this same pattern, which attracted me very much. I was very anxious to acquire one, but was told they are rare, and that the Yakuts generally are very unwilling to part with them. A still finer specimen was a native saddle. This was somewhat on the lines of the Cossack design, with high pommels, but was richly ornamented with little round disks of lead, in the absence of a more decorative local metal, and the saddle-cloth was a particularly effective piece of [108] patchwork in variously coloured skins. "

44: Gilder --301 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 231, 492

"Yakout horses are probably the slowest of all animals except oxen, while the horses upon the post roads of Siberia west of Irkutsk are about the same as those of other countries."

44: Gilder -- 302 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116, 231, 492

"The Yakout horses of Northern Siberia can scarcely be called horses--they are a sort of domesticated wild animal. They are small, ill-shaped and awkward, with thick hair and very long and heavy mane and tail. The front lock often entirely conceals the eyes and the whole front of the head. They stumble and fall in the most unexpected and unnecessary places, and when down make no effort to assist themselves to their feet. They simply stick out their heads to reach for such dried, frost-killed grass or bunches of shrubs as may be within reach until urged to self-assistance by the kicks and voice of their driver."

44: Gilder -- 302-303 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut

116, 492

"They follow each other in long lines, and it is almost impossible to make a Yakout horse go alongside of another--he wants either to be ahead or behind. This arises from the fact that they are mostly used as pack animals, and are then driven in lines, the hinder animal [303] tied to the tail of the one preceding. Thus also they are harnessed in sledges, with a single trace passing around the bow of the sled and fastened to the tail of the leading horse to keep it from beneath their feet. I don't mean that the first horse pulls his share of the load entirely by his tail. The trace is first fastened to the saddle, and, passing back toward the sled, is attached to the horse's tail to keep it up from the ground when occasionally it slackens. The saddle is always placed by the Yakouts in the middle of the horse's back, is an open tree like the McClellan, with a high square pommel, often handsomely ornamented with silver and gold of native metal and workmanship highly creditable to their skill ~~in the mechanical~~ arts. The saddle is mounted upon a pad of straw, and the effect when a horse is ready saddled for the road is something like a camel. The natives generally pile a coat or two on the saddle under them, and when mounted are perched high up in the air in what, to one accustomed to civilized accoutrements, seems a very awkward and uncomfortable position."

44: Gilder --304 J-2 (1882) 1883 Yakut
116. 492

"The Yakouts, as well as the Boriaks, who are very similar in their nature and habits, although brought up among horses and living upon them in more senses than one--for horseflesh is a delicacy to these people--are not good horsemen. They neither sit well nor manage their horses well."

45: Lesseps--260-261 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 231, 492

"Within a short distance from Medvejégolova, my horse fell under me, and it was impossible to make him get up again; I had fortunately time to quit the saddle, and received therefore no injury. We left the beast on the spot (1), where it doubtless

1. The Yakouts seemed not to be much concerned at the loss of these animals, and have no idea of affording them any assistance. When they refuse to go on, or fall down from weakness or fatigue, they are abandoned to their deplorable fate, and their carcasses are left to be devoured by bears, who never relinquish their prey while anything remains but the bones. [261] It was added, that the Yakouts lose in this manner every year four or five thousand horses, in transporting the different objects of the commerce which they undertake.

ex-[261]pired a few hours after."

45: Lesseps--313 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 492

" They pretend to ride better than any other nation in the world, and their vanity in this respect is carried so far, that they avoid, from a sentiment of disdain, giving to travellers their most mettlesome steeds. (1)

1. In speaking of the saddles, I ought to have added that the stirrups are very short."

Y /157 cont./

122 The Jakute /Yakut/ who had received the letter from Stepán's
123 brother and sent it on to the community elder (starschiná) came to look us up himself, undoubtedly with the completely justified /158/ hope of a good tip. His narte too was of great help to us, since our baggage simply could not be accommodated on five narten, and even on six only in an emergency, and therefore Golé fashioned a small hand-sled for himself.

Y
136 I must note that the reindeer of this region were decidedly
122 smaller and weaker than those that brought us from the Tunguska to the Olenék. The reindeer of the Tschuktschen /Chukchee/ are still smaller, as Middendorff says. We had heard from Baron Maydell and Dr. Neumann, who had been in Tschuktschen country a few years ago, that it is difficult to find reindeer bucks strong enough to carry a man, but this was not confirmed along the Tunguska, for a considerable number of our reindeer could carry Czekanowsky and
Y me with ease, to say nothing of one of the Tungus, who are usu-
● [492] ally much smaller and more slightly built. But even here on the Olenék it might be difficult to round up suitable riding animals, and this is probably the chief reason why the people here, as well as in Tschuktschen country, travel almost solely on narten, while
T along the Tunguska they ride almost exclusively.

T
122 On the day of our departure there was still enough to do; Stepán took possession of the well-sealed things remaining behind, then made as many notches on a piece of wood as there were individual packages, pressed two seals on it, and then broke the wood
T together with the seals. Stepán kept one half, and we took the
Y other one with us, and Stepán was supposed to deliver the things
[186] only to the one who showed him this half. Precautionary measures
[685] enough, but we were still somewhat concerned about the safety of the provisions in particular, for Stepán suspiciously spoke a lot about mice, which often steal the supplies, Tungus robbers, /159/ who supposedly break into the chambers, and more of the same. From all these little was to be feared, much more from Stepán and his family themselves, although the latter, during the whole time, had received enough from us and was also generously given presents on the last day. /The remainder of p. 159 and the first paragraph on p. 160 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 160 continues as follows./

/161 cont./

122 had scarcely covered three versts when Jegór advanced toward
123 us, along with an escort and eight fine reindeer. He had obviously, judging by the distances covered by him, slept little, if at all, during the night. Soon our men followed; since the earlier narten and their drivers had come along, a narte could be hitched up for each of us, and we went on at a fast
• 492 trot, despite the still difficult road. It was noticed that the people here are accustomed to driving, whereas in the previous winter along the Tunguska it was tried for the first time.

A few versts farther the community elder, Peter Chatýgin, and another Jakute /Yakut/, Matféj Chatýgin, advanced toward us with four narten. Peter Chatýgin, alias Atschkássow, also called Morósow, a still young, handsome, strong, and tall man, made a most favorable impression from the first. He is probably the richest and most esteemed man of this region. /162/ and the office of elder has been handed down in his family already into the third generation. He had taken our letter to Ssiktjách /Siktyakh/ on the Lena, 180 (?) versts above Bulún, and sent it on from there. A merchant settled there -- the Jakuten called him Rjétschnikow -- told him that he must do everything in his power for the expedition, and all the more so since instructions could not be expected from Bulún very quickly, because the head (golowá) of the upráwa was not present at the moment, but had gone to the mouth of the Lena.

As a result Peter Chatýgin offered to take us to the Arctic Ocean himself, with his own reindeer, which, of course, we accepted with joy. Only one circumstance disturbed this joy -- we had to give up following the course of the river, for here in its lower course too it continued to have the same character which had almost brought us to despair throughout the journey, namely, going toward its goal in the most winding way possible. On the river itself it is supposed to be 17 hard days of travel to its mouth, and moreover through a completely unpopulated region, whereas the elder undertook to get us there in about eight days. There was no choice, for if we were still to venture to hope for some results in these northern regions, especially Czekanowsky with regard to the geology, we must

[p. 249]

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← 492 ●
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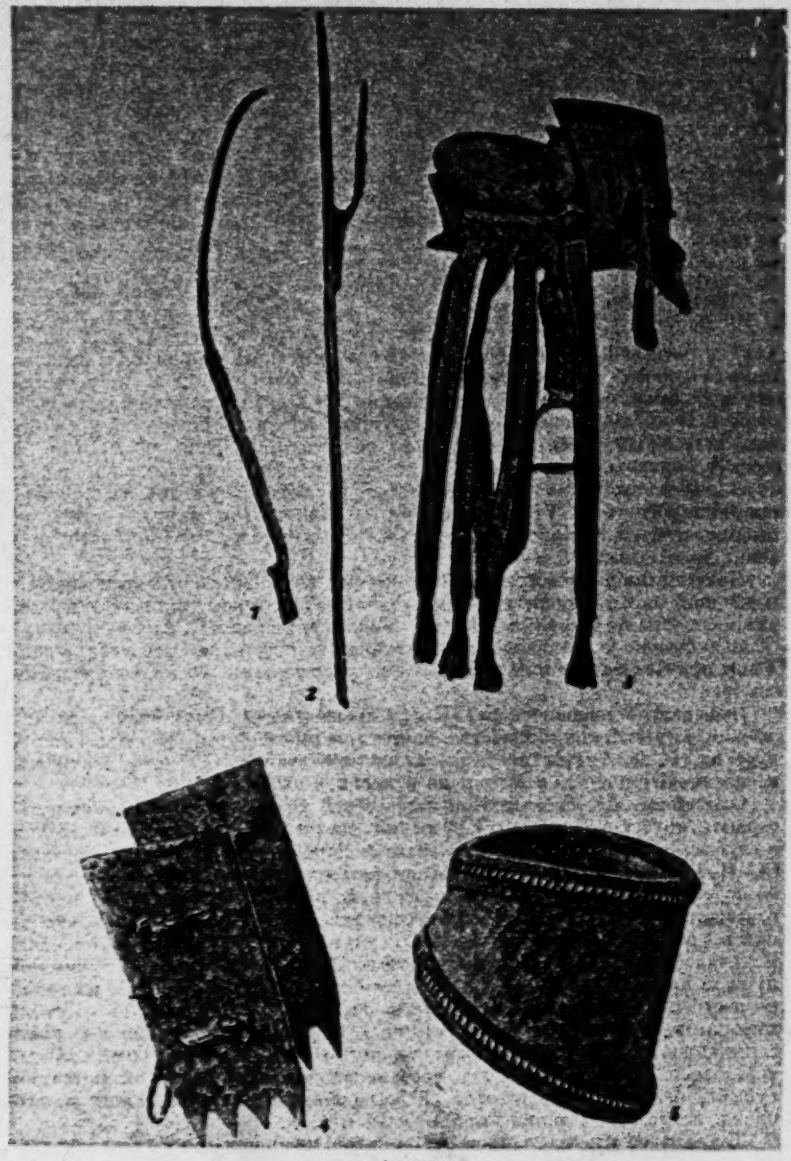

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Farming implements: 1—old-type hump-backed scythe; 2—wooden hay fork; 3—old-type saddle with metal inlay; 4—muzzle for calves made with boards with teeth; 5—birchbark muzzle for calves.

[p. 258]

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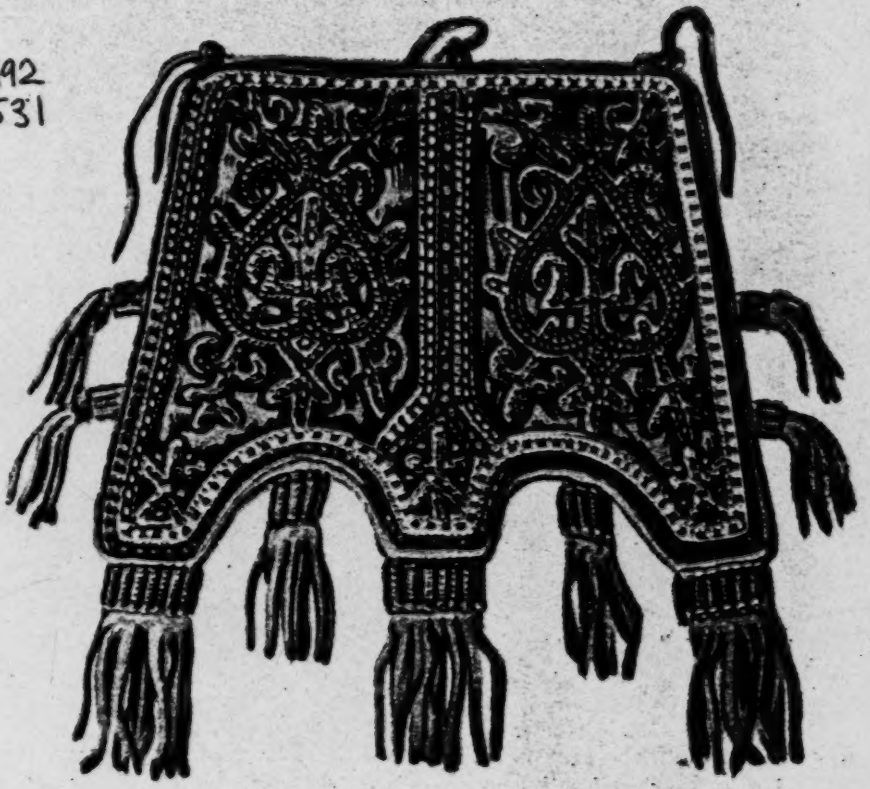

Saddle-blanket decorated with colored beads and metal plates.

with the toyons, particularly in the Olekminskiy Okrug, close to the ulusy associated with the Lena gold mines and those lying near the town of Yakutsk. The toyons sold butter, meat, hay and other agricultural products at these markets. 443

Commercial relations then began to develop within the actual Yakut ulusy. Forged objects had long been manufactured for purposes of sale, and there were cases in which wooden, bone and other articles were made to order. Products from cattle-breeding, hay, firewood and building materials were also often sold and bought; the products of hunting—furs—were almost universally sold. Nevertheless, the overall structure of the Yakut economy was still a subsistence one.

The division of labor within the family was traditional. Male and female occupations were sharply divided. Men and women looked after the stock but the former preferred to deal with horses (and even milk the mares), while women chiefly tended cattle. Everyone took part in the haymaking, but the mowing itself was a male occupation. Hunting and fishing were reserved for men. Woodworking, metalworking, and mammoth-ivory carving were male occupations, while the dressing of hide and fur, sewing clothes and footwear, making leather and clay vessels were reserved for women. Finally, it was the males who cut the timber and built the dwellings, while the women carried water, lit the fires and cooked the food. Hired workers, dependent poorer kinsmen, and, in ancient times, slaves in many cases performed both male and female tasks. 462 [466]

## Means of Transportation

The ancient Yakut means of transportation were adapted to the barely passable taiga. Before the advent of the Russians, the Yakuts did not know of the wheeled carriage, and until very recently people in the more out of the way places had never seen wheels. Sledges and sledge harnesses were known; in the central regions the Yakut sledges were almost identical in shape to the Russian ones, but in the north they were straight-sided reindeer sledges. 493

In the old days, the Yakuts had their own particular type of sledge (silis syarga); the runners were not bent, but made of a piece of wood with a rootstock and had a slight natural curve. Yakut sledges are mentioned in 17th-century documents as a means of transportation. The most primitive form of harnessing was a strap attached to the saddle of a horse. In other cases shafts were used in the same way as the strap. Oxen were more often harnessed to sledges than horses. The ox was harnessed to shafts with a yoke; the Yakut yoke (*бурдайы*, or *буулага* and *сүүрдэр*) is made in two pieces, very different from the Russian or Ukrainian ox-yoke, and like the sledge was evidently indigenous in origin. The Yakuts travelled on the sledges, and sometimes still do, both in winter and summer. 492

A more typical means of transportation was the horse (used both for riding and carrying packs). The Yakut packsaddle, the base of which was two wooden boards secured together at an angle, is similar in shape to the type used by the South Siberian pastoralists. The same thing can more or less be said of the riding saddle, except that in the case of the Yakuts it is higher, broader and thicker. The saddle frame was usually made of wood; the high, wide saddlebow was usually reinforced at the front with a stamped silver plate with a forged hook in the center for the reins; the low back was also encased in silver. Silver ornaments, incidentally, are characteristic of a later period and the older saddles (from excavations) are not adorned with this metal. The saddle frame was covered with a [581]

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2



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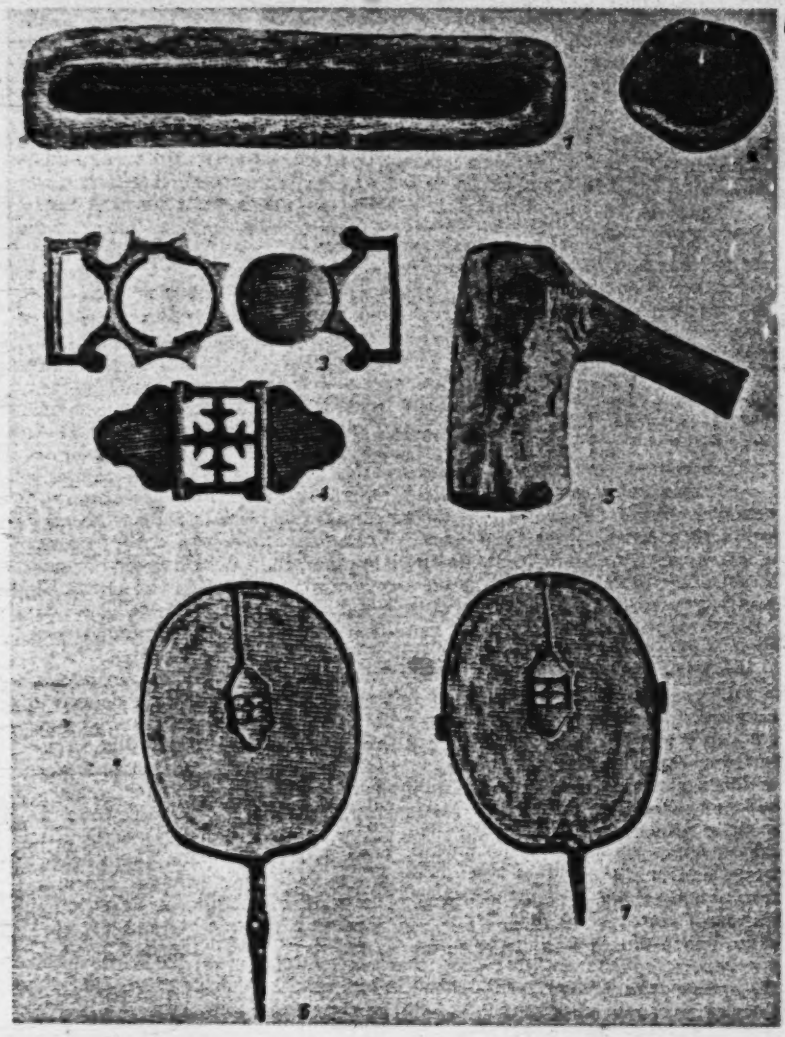


Smithing and potting implements: 1, 2—clay crucibles for melting silver and gold; 3, 4—wooden templets for casting silver belt buckles; 5—wooden hammer for mixing potter's clay; 6, 7—two halves of clay mold for casting silver and gold objects.

pillow. Richly ornamented cloth and leather sweatcloths and girths were placed under the saddle at the sides and on the cruppers, while side flaps hung down from the sides; the stirrups were usually made of metal, although a flexible, narrow strip of wood bent in a circle was sometimes used.

492 [53]

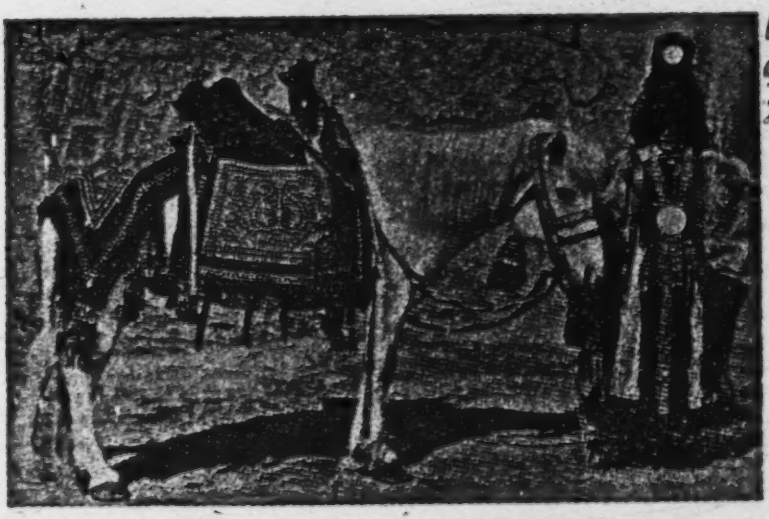
53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

Yakut sleigh.

Another means of overland transportation was the ski, which was lined underneath with horsehide and not reindeer suede. The Yakut boats were no different from the Tungus ones. They had a canoe (tyy) made of birch-bark or else flat-bottomed and made from planks. The larger vessel—the karbaz—had sails and was evidently borrowed from the Russians.

## Settlements and Buildings

Until recently the Yakut settlements were very much scattered about. The prevalent type of populated point (yal) consisted of one, two or three yurts standing in a row; there were less than 20 people (according to the



Yakut woman with horse festively saddled.

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

[p. 300]

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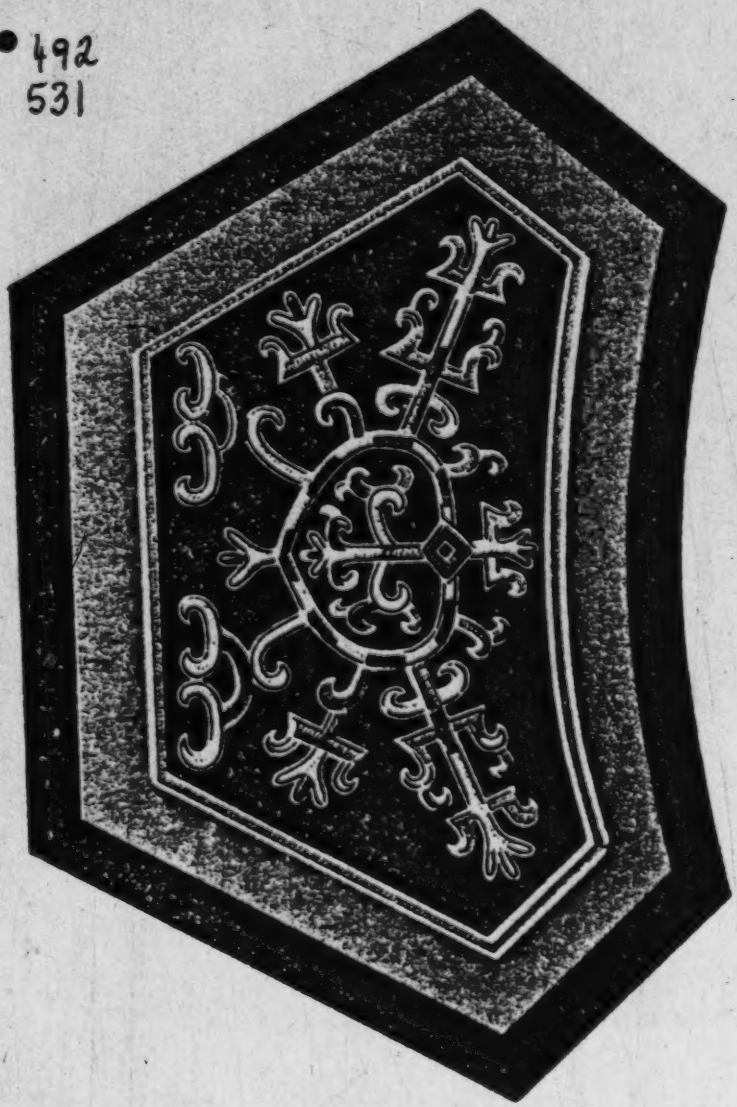

Saddlecloth embroidered with colored thread.

233 the part of the human being! But the domestic reindeer is also terribly importunate. No matter how many times you drive a reindeer away from your sled--even injuring him in the process--you have only to turn around and back he comes again to start eating your traveling clothing, the straps, the separate parts which fasten the sled together, and so forth. The good qualities of the reindeer as a beast of burden are his endurance and his ability to find quickly the right direction even in the most severe blizzard, when it is impossible to distinguish anything at a distance of two or three paces.

233 In winter a reindeer harnessed to a light sled runs along at the
492 rate of twenty-five to thirty kilometers an hour; when harnessed to a freight sled it does seven or eight kilometers an hour. In summer the riding reindeer in the same time will cover only three or four kilometers, but such slowness is compensated for by another valuable [187] [Figure 2] [188] quality of the reindeer--the ability, thanks to its broad hoofs, to traverse any kind of a swamp without getting stuck, and in winter it can do the same over deep snow drifts. These hoofs support the reindeer on the steep slopes of mountains, and allow him to stand with his feet on such small and shifting mounds as would scarcely allow any other kind of animal to support himself. The reindeer is also irreplaceable in crossing the turbulent mountain streams: he swims excellently and is able to withstand the strong onslaught of the waves in rapids and waterfalls. The author remembers crossings of the rocky and turbulent streams of the Noril'sk Mountains, the noisy waves of which, striking with great force, threatened to smash reindeer or man against the rocks if either fell. It was necessary to make great efforts not to fall, by leaning with a staff on the slippery stone stream bed. It seemed that at any moment the reindeer would wallow on his side, that his head was spinning from the rapid motion, but nevertheless he stepped along on the wet and slippery stones, kept his balance on them by some miracle, and emerged safe and sound on the opposite bank of the stream.

For riding the natives use for the most part castrated bucks, but they also use mares. They remove the necessary number of thoroughbred bucks from the herd and use them to sire offspring; all the bucks are castrated. The best time for this is considered to be early spring before the appearance of the gnats, or autumn before the snow falls. The operation is performed for the most part on two-year-olds; the natives avoid castrating bucks older than six years, for they

233 say that they die from it. The castration is performed in the follow-
492 ing way: the natives "throw" the reindeer, two of them hold the reindeer by the legs, and one kneels down and chews the buck's testicles until they are destroyed.

[283] For catching the reindeer the natives use the "maam' t"--a rope which may be as long as 160 meters and which is plaited out for four or five thin straps. On one end of the maam' t there is a cross-piece made of a little stick--the karaka, or 'knot'--which is passed through both openings in a bone plate--the "pietelke." Before catching a reindeer with the maam' t the natives wind it around their left elbow, holding part of the rope--the part which does not have the loop formed by means of the "pietelke"--in their left hand; they take the other part of the rope in their right hand and, swinging it around, they throw it at the head of the reindeer they have chosen. The noose with the bone plate falls over the horns and tightens. Sometimes two men throw the maam' t at one reindeer at the same time from opposite sides of him. This method of catching the reindeer is called mökkytterer (to compel to fight). Often in winter and in summer at the time of the gnats, when the reindeer cluster together in a bunch, several men circle the herd with outstretched maam' t and act as a fence, which allows the other persons to go into the midst of the herd and catch reindeer with their bare hands. This method of catching reindeer is called eritterer (to compel to go around).

The Dolgan attain amazing skill in throwing the maam' t; they start practicing it when they are very young, throwing the maam' t over the horns of slain reindeer.

233 Once the animals have been caught the natives want to lead them
284 to the place where they are to be harnessed or have a load put on them, and in order to do this they "string" the reindeer--five or six, and even more, at a time on one maam' t, tying them by means of dull knots called ile baaj" (simple binding) or iliinnen sieter baaj" (ribbon for leading by the bridle) [Figure 2g]. These knots have the drawback that they can tighten up and choke the reindeer, and for this reason they are only used for leading the reindeer over short distances. In order to lead reindeer by the same method over longer distances special knots that do not tighten up are used; they are called tuomtuu tarder (the binding which is quickly undone) [Figure 2f].

In addition, they use still other knots for tying one reindeer: a) er kihi baaj"ta (the male binding) and b) çaktar baaj"ta (the female

233 binding) [Figure 2h-i]. A man never uses a female knot to tie a
284 reindeer, for he would be laughed at if he did. They tie the rein-
[412] deer to trees or bushes; in those places where there are no trees
or bushes--for example, on the hilltops--the reindeer are tied to special wooden pegs--the kojnos--about forty or fifty centimeters in length, which are stuck into the ground and which at the same time serve as digging sticks for unearthing edible roots [Fig. 2e].

233 In summer the Dolgan ride reindeer, and only their "twigs"
492 (boats) are carried on special sledges with two crossbars; in winter, however, they ride on sleds exclusively. [189] According to the stories, in ancient times they rode only reindeer both summer and winter and borrowed the sledge gear later from the Tavgi.

The reindeer harness is in reality not as simple as it would appear at first glance; and incidentally, in all the Russian ethnographic literature we do not have anything like a complete description of it. If someone who knew nothing of the ways of harnessing reindeer were to take it into his head to hitch one up [Fig. 3] according to the descriptions found in the available literature, he would find out that he was quite helpless. Any ethnographic description can be completely scientific only if by following it one could completely and precisely duplicate the described event or object, and it is our task to strive toward this end with all possible efforts. To give a detailed description of the Dolgan winter reindeer harness means to give a description of the harness which is the most widespread at the present time in the north, starting from Scandinavia and extending to the eastern tip of Asia, excluding the Paleo-Asiatics. Such insignificant variations among the separate peoples who live in the aforementioned territory as, for example, the fact that the Nenets and the Tavgi steer from the left side while the Dolgan steer from the right side, and other minor details, do not change the general construction of the summer and winter harnesses of the reindeer.

The bast' ŋa--the halter used for riding a reindeer [Fig. 2k] consists of a strap sewn together in the form of a circle and placed on the forehead; fastened to its sides are two small straps made of reindeer hide [Fig. 2e-m] by means of which the halter is fastened at the back of the head; to the lower part is sewn a strap called njuogu--a small rein for guiding the reindeer [Fig. 2n]. The halters
[531] of female reindeer, the reindeer used as pack animals, and the "shaytan'i" riding reindeer (1) have the part over the forehead

1. "Shaytan'i" riding reindeer are reindeer on which are

[531] carried the holy objects of the household--the "shaytany."
233
492 trimmed with green or red cloth and are decorated with glass beads [Fig. 2o]. In order that the reindeer which is being led by the rein attached to the first reindeer may not pull back, the natives put on him a halter with a bone comb known as the keebee [Fig. 2p-r]. When the reindeer begins to slow down the teeth of the comb dig into the back of his head causing enough pain to make him run faster.

Saddles are of two types: the first--the male type--is the çykeeŋdii [Fig. 3A], and the second--the female or pack type-- is the 'ŋ"r [Fig. 3B]. The male saddle consists of two long boards fixed parallel to each other by means of [190] two curved branch pieces of horn or branches of a tree which have been sawed off to the proper length and then nailed to the ends of the boards. The boards are sewn round with leather which is stuffed with reindeer fur, forming a s'tt'k--two cushions for sitting on. On the female saddles, or packsaddles, in place of the horns which do not stick up above the cushions there are high semicircular pommels on the front and back ends called soroon. [Figure 4]

[531] The frame of the female saddle, or packsaddle is more massive in construction, the cushions are thicker and broader, and the lower part of the front pommel is trimmed with red or green cloth and is decorated with glass beads [Fig. 3f]. The front pommel is completely covered with red ocher, the rear pommel is left white and is only decorated with ocher. On packsaddles, besides this, the rear pommel is richly decorated with tin incrustations [Fig. 3h]. All forms of the saddles have a crack running down the whole length of the middle which fits precisely over the shoulder blades and vertebrae of the reindeer. The saddle is not placed over the center of the reindeer's spine, but rather on the shoulder blades, since the spinal column of the Dolgan reindeer is not strong enough to bear the weight and breaks under the strain.

A female or pack reindeer is saddled up in the following manner [Fig. 4]: first the saddle is mounted on the reindeer, and then a small rug made of reindeer heads--the dah'na--is put on so that the bags will not rub sores on the sides of the reindeer, and then two bags sewed together from hide obtained from reindeer legs and tied together are thrown across the saddle. All this is made secure with a leather saddle girth called timeektiin [Fig. 2r] which is three or four fingers in breadth and has an iron ring on one end. Bags are never thrown across a male saddle: [Fig. 5] the saddle is simply

233
492 placed on the shoulder blades of the reindeer in the same way as has just been described, and without any covering on it is tightened to the reindeer's back by means of the timeektiin [Fig. 5].

The natives mount the reindeer from the right side. In mounting they hold the rein in the left hand, leaning with this hand on the front pommel of the saddle; with the other hand they lean on a staff, which is replaced by a spear when they are going hunting, and then they throw the left leg across the saddle. The reindeer staffs are of two types--the male tajak, which has the shape of a simple stick long enough to be comfortably leaned on while the rider is sitting on the reindeer [Fig. 6a]; and the female staff, called njuorii, which has an iron top with a crook at the end of it [Fig. 6b]. Women sitting on reindeer lean on the staffs, grasping them with their hands below the tops, and with the crooks thrust under the edges of their sleeves [Fig. 6]. The staffs of old and poor women do not have iron tops, but simply have a wooden crosspiece on the top [Fig. 6c]. Riding on the back of a reindeer [Fig. 7] calls for great skill, especially on the male saddle, which has no pommels. If one who is not in the habit rides this way his legs become dropsical, since they hang free without any stirrups. In order not to fall off while he is riding, the rider must constantly lean on his staff with his right hand. When the rider wishes to turn the reindeer to the left he presses his right leg against the cheek of the reindeer; if he wishes to turn to the right he pulls [191] [Figures 6 and 7] on the rein. A load of not more than fifty kilograms is put on a riding reindeer without a rider.

The bast 'ŋa--the halter of the winter harness of the front (lead) reindeer [Fig. 8A]--has on the part which goes over the forehead instead of a strap two plates made from horns which have been sawed up in the middle. One of these--the long bent one (on the left)--is called the s'ŋaak muoha (cheekbone) [Fig. 8b]; the straight short one (on the right) is called the njuogu muoha (the bone of the halter) [Fig. 8c]. There are openings located in the extreme ends of each plate, and through each plate is passed a thong [Fig. 8e]; these thongs are tied behind the back of the head of the reindeer in order to hold the halter securely. On the right (guiding) side of the halter is fastened a long rein--the njuogu [Fig. 8d]--which is used to guide the reindeer and which is sometimes braided together out of five or eight thin straps. When the rider pulls on the rein, the horn plates on the reindeer's forehead press on the arch of its brow and force it to turn to the right. The halters of the outrunner reindeer [Fig. 8B] are different from the

233 halter of the lead reindeer; the former have two cheekbone plates
492 made of mammoth bone--s'ŋ aak muoha [Fig. 8g]--and are often richly decorated with carving; each of the plates has an opening in each end. Through the two openings at the top is passed the strap which runs across the forehead; through each of the two openings at the rear is passed a thong, one of which ends in a noose, the other in a copper button or a wooden buckle; these two thongs are fastened together behind the head of the reindeer. A strap called the kostuur b'a, which is connected to the bellyband of the right reindeer of the team, is fastened below the halter or to the opening located in the center of the cheekbone plate. A strap called the ala or laamp' is a long strip of hide, or of morocco leather which has been purchased, ten to fifteen centimeters wide; this is put on the reindeer obliquely, passing over one shoulder, the chest, and one leg. To one side of the strap is fastened a thong--the ahaan b'a [Fig. 9g]--by means of which the strap is held against the neck of the reindeer and does not slip down. The ends of the strap are connected by means of [192] [Fig. 8] a thong to the ends of the girth, called the kur, which is thirty to thirty-five centimeters in width and which encompasses the front part of the body of the reindeer like a ring [Fig. 9j]. A leather loop is fastened on the inside of each side--right and left--of the girth at a point approximately one-quarter of the way around, starting from the ends. To one of these is fastened an iron or a copper ring--tierbes [Fig. 9w]--about eight centimeters in diameter, which has on one side a thong with a wooden buckle on its end. This thong is passed through the openings in the ends of the ala strap and is buckled to the other loop on the inside of the girth. Behind the iron ring is fastened an iron hook called kiraapiik, through which is passed the rein [Fig. 9z and cc]. These hooks have two forms; they are either shaped like a Russian capital "L" [that is, "Л".--Translator.] with curled ends, or like a Latin "S," and they are often made of twisted iron. The first type of hook is considered to be the more practical, since it eliminates the possibility that the rein (the traces) might become unfastened and fall to the ground. Both of the aforementioned types of hooks are nowadays gladly replaced by bought iron buckles together with dog chains [Fig. 9bb].

In the last ten to fifteen years the so-called Yurak harness--çuraakt" kəlyyr--has begun to be used among the Dolgan with great success. In this type of harness the iron ring is absent; the thong, which runs from one side of the girth, is passed through the opening in the opposite side of the ala strap and is buckled to the other side

233 of the ala strap on the inside. However, the rein from the sled is
492 connected directly by means of a wooden buckle to the ends of the ala strap [Fig. 9ff]. The great success of this type of harness is due to the fact that the iron ring does not rub a hole in the reindeer's hide.

A hook called gugaarka is fastened to the girth of the lead reindeer on the right side, and over this is thrown the rein in order that it may not drag along the ground [Fig. 9As]; this gugaarka may be of bone [Fig. 9s] or of iron, encrusted with either silver or copper, and hung with rings [Fig. 9t], and it is an ornament among the youth of the area [Facing 192: Figure 9 on an unpaginated unfolding insert] [193] valued at one reindeer (twenty-five to thirty rubles). The bone gugaarka are preferred by hunters, since the metal ones frighten the wild reindeer with their jingling. On the left side of the girth is fastened either a wooden or a bone plate, through the two openings of which is passed a loop made out of rope, which is connected by means of the ahaan b'a thong with the halter of another reindeer of the team. The rein--called pobotuok--is a long strap made of hide, about two centimeters in width, and terminating either in a loop--which is slipped over the kiraapiik hook to hold the rein in place, or onto the iron buckle of the ring--or in a small wooden stick, which is passed through the ends of the ala strap. The rein is of two types: the main rein--the tojon poboduok [Fig. 9k]--and the outrunner rein [Fig. 9L]. There is usually only one main rein on any team; this is terminated on both ends by loops or wooden buckles, and it connects the outermost reindeer on one side of the team with the outermost reindeer on the other side of the team; the outrunner rein is half as long and it connects the center outrunner reindeer [Fig. 10] to the sled; one outrunner rein is necessary for each out-
233 runner reindeer. The reins pass between the hind legs of the rein-
401 deer and run through the whole system of pulleys tied to the front of
492 the sled, which are fastened on at various points, depending on the position of the reindeer in the team. On every sled there are two side pulleys situated always in the same place; these are fastened to the front ends of the runners in the following way: a strap is passed down through a special opening in the end of the left runner; the short end of this strap is passed through a second (smaller) opening in the pulley; then through this same opening the strap is passed upward again and the end of it is tied in a knot. The long part of the strap is thrown across to the end of the right runner, where there is the same kind of opening, and a pulley is tied on in exactly the same

233 401 492 way as on the left runner, the only difference being that the end of the rope is tied to the end of the side board, or the lath called bajka--in the local Russian pronunciation "bayki" [Fig. 9r]. This strap is tied to the crossbeam of the sled in the middle, between the ends of the runners. Only the main rein is passed through the pulleys on the outward sides of the sled. Pulleys for the simple reins of the reindeer between the two outer reindeer of the team are located between the two pulleys on the extreme outboard sides of the sled in all possible combinations, depending on the position and function of the reindeer which are fastened to the sled. Where the team consists of only two reindeer, only the two outboard pulleys and one main rein are used; where there are three reindeer in the team, three pulleys are used; where there are four reindeer in the team, five pulleys are used; where there are five reindeer, seven pulleys are used; six reindeer require nine pulleys; and eight reindeer require seven pulleys [Fig. 9L, 2, 3, 4, and 5]. The last type of team is very rarely used; for the most part it is used in the summer when a boat is being transported during a nomadic trip. In this team arrangement only the main reins alone are used; one main rein is run from each of the four reindeer which make up the second rank, and the ends of these reins connect the reindeer in pairs [Fig. 9d--k].

The pulleys called toŋooldo or celaak are made from reindeer horn or from wood, and are of two types: the cargo pulleys [Fig. $9m_1$], which are the more massive, and the pulleys for light riding [Fig. $9m_2$], which are [194] thinner. They are usually different in their forms, varying from an irregular rectangle to a diamond in shape. The cargo pulleys and the outboard pulleys each have two large openings: one of these is wide, and it is for the main rein; the narrow opening is for the rope which fastens them to the ends of the runners. Both of the openings are made large on the middle pulleys, since the simple rein is tied to the upper opening and the main rein passes through the lower opening. An interesting type of pulley is that with five narrow openings; it is made that way so that in case the pulley breaks off at the first opening the rein can be passed through the second opening; in case the pulley breaks off at the second opening the rein can be passed through the third opening, and so forth. This saves the natives from having to make a new pulley while on a trip--a job which is not especially pleasant in cold weather [Fig. $9m_4$]. If one has only pulleys with one large opening and he has to harness up more than two reindeer he ties the pulleys

233 together in pairs and thus obtains the equivalent of one pulley with
401 two large openings [Fig. 9m ].
492 This method of harnessing the reindeer is quite convenient thanks to the system of pulleys; each of the reindeer pulls an equal share of the load, and a contributing factor here is the fact that going from right to left the reins of the reindeer get progressively shorter
[531] [Fig. 9A]. The ala strap and the girth of the dressharness are covered with red or green cloth and decorated with varicolored glass beads, or else the parts made of reindeer hide are decorated with designs sewn with thread made from reindeer tendons. The cargo harness is much simpler; it consists only of an ala strap, which is canvas for the most part (made from sacks), and there is no girth at all. Usually there is no halter either; the reindeer are tied by their necks to the back of the front sled. There are either two or four reindeer in a cargo team and when there are four each pair of them has only one neck-rope [Figs. 8C and 9N]. We think it is helpful to reproduce a special drawing [Fig. 10] in order to introduce a simplified description of the terms used by the local Russian speakers for the parts of the sled.

493 Reindeer sleds among the Dolgan can be separated into five types: 1) Bytej s'rga, or olok s'rga--the "covered" or light sled [Fig. 11]; 2) 'raak'--"iraka" in the local Russian pronunciation [Fig. 12]; 3) setii s'rga--the cargo sled, or the sled "which is lead" [Fig. 13]; 4) tard'' or turku--the cargo sled [Fig. 14]; and 5) turkucaank', or little turku [Fig. 16].

[783] The "covered" sled is used exclusively for light riding; in the Noril'sk Rayon only the women ride on them--the men consider this a profanation for themselves, since after a trip on a female sled it would be necessary for them to cross over the path of the shaytany--the household spirits--or of a wild animal, which is considered to be unclean. In other regions this rule is not observed; there men too ride on "covered" sleds. The "covered" sled is distinguished by high legs forty-five to fifty centimeters long, of which there are five, eight, twelve, or fourteen on one sled. These legs are slanted toward the back of the sled, and they are mounted in such a way that they are farther apart from each other at the bottom than they are at the top [Fig. 10]. This is done so that the considerable height of the body of the sled will not make the whole sled unstable and allow it to turn over. Such a construction is also convenient in that it allows a person sitting in the sled to stand with his feet on the runners, which stick out beyond the line of the so-called "bayka," in

284 493 Although in the first three types of sleds the predominant means of holding the parts together is wooden nails, which have the advantage of not becoming fragile, as do iron nails in the intense cold, in the last two types all the separate parts are held together by means of straps.

233 492 493 To the front part of the setii s'rga, the turku, and the turkucaaqk' is fastened a thick shaft-bow made of rose willow--the kab'rga, or "ram" ["male sheep"--Translator]. However, just as among the northern Yakut, among the Dolgan this does not serve as something to tie the rein to; the rein is passed through pulleys which are fastened directly to the crosspiece of the sled, and the rein passes [197] under the ram. This was explained as being due to the fact that if the reins are allowed to pass over the top of the ram they are high enough up in the air to rub sores on the legs of the reindeer, whereas the ram keeps the reins down low all the time; but such an explaination is not convincing to me personally. Thus, we see that the ram, having lost its main function as the shaft-bow by which the sled was pulled, among the Dolgan serves only as a "bumper" to prevent the sleds from breaking when they collide with trees. [Fig. 14] In the cargo harness, the rein is sometimes passed both above and below the ram, so that in case the pulley breaks the sled will not have to stop, since the reindeer can pull it by the ram.

233 284 492 A characteristic peculiarity of the winter harness for reindeer is the absence of knots, which are replaced by wooden buckles; these are quite convenient in severe cold, when the fingers become frostbitten after being exposed for a moment, and for this reason it is important that the shortest possible time be spent in harnessing up the team. If it should be necessary to tie knots in the reins, for example, the natives make knots which can be quickly untied [Fig. 9L]. [Fig. 15].

233 492 When the natives are riding in winter they urge the reindeer on with a stick about four meters long; they poke the end of the stick into the hind quarters of the reindeer, since, on account of its thick hair, the reindeer is completely insensitive to other methods of prodding. This stick--the kyrej, or "khorey" in Russian [Fig. 9b]--has on its top end a small bone circle to prevent the reindeer being pierced by the stick. On the lower end of the "khorey" is fixed an iron tip of a spear--the ynyy--with a blunt point [Fig. 9ee]. With this the front rider tests the thickness of the ice on rivers in the autumn to see whether the caravan can cross over them or not. This tip also enables the natives to poke the stick upright in the snow when

233 they halt during the journey.

492 When the natives want to stop the reindeer, they pull on the rein, turn them back toward the sled, and tie the lead reindeer to the top of one of the legs or to the bayka. The natives do not sit [198] on the sled right away when they start up: they first get the reindeer in motion and run alongside him for a while holding on to the rein. Then while the sled is moving they quickly jump onto the runner with their feet and sit down on the sled. They do it this way so that it will be easier for the reindeer to start the sled moving. If it is necessary to turn the reindeer to the right they pull on the rein; if they want to turn the team to the left they strike lightly with their khorey on the right side of the lead reindeer. The reindeer learn very quickly to follow directions when being ridden; they begin to be trained at the age of three years. A reindeer which has not been trained for riding is tied securely to a tree and a rider sits astride him. After fooling around a little the reindeer calms down, and after a few days becomes completely obedient. The natives train them to pull in a harness by hitching up an untrained reindeer with trained ones. Nevertheless, there is always some skill required to train reindeer: otherwise the reindeer turns out to be bad and capricious. When a riding reindeer gets stubborn, he stands quietly waiting while the rider climbs into the saddle, and then he folds his front legs under him and bends his head down; when this happens the man flies off head first.

[526] The Dolgan attain great skill and agility at riding. For amusement they sit astride the reindeer facing backwards and drive the reindeer at top speed without using a staff to support themselves. Another trick is to drive a light sled at frightful speed down a wooded slope from the top of a mountain in winter without smashing up the sled. The maximum useful life of a reindeer which is harnessed up only in the winter or only in the summer is twelve to fifteen years; if he is harnessed both summer and winter the limit is five to six years, since the latter quickly gets infected or inflamed feet. In the big herds of rich people many reindeer are not harnessed at all; it is said that these reindeer may live to the age of thirty years.

The reindeer grow fat only in the summer and are "plump" until the polar sunrise, after which they begin to grow thin; the reindeer are fast runners in winter, but as early as April or May-- or sometimes even by the end of March--they begin to get tired, run slowly in harness, and often swing off the road and stop. If a reindeer lives until the end of May the natives assume that he will not die of

233 starvation. In June the reindeer has already become noticeably
492 fatter. In autumn and winter the natives harness mostly female reindeer; in the spring they ride exclusively on bucks, protecting the cows which are with calf. The natives said that not so long ago they made a practice of not harnessing the mares to the sleds beginning about ten days after the mare had copulated with a buck, in order to avoid miscarriages.

If a reindeer collapses from hunger while being ridden, in order to force him to go on the natives knead him in the stomach with their fists, and if this is of no avail, they cut off one of his ears.

3.

233 The reindeer, which is an object of private property, is marked
422 by each owner with a particular sign called the belie. The most reliable markings are considered to be figures made by making cuts in the ears of the animal, without making any distinction between the right and left ear; these ear cuts have different appellations depending on their form [Fig. 17]. Independently of the markings on the ears, the natives cut signs with a knife in the form of different combinations of lines in the hair on the sides of the reindeer [Fig. 18]. They do this in the month of the spring sunrise, after the polar night--the time of severe cold--has passed, in order that the reindeer may not get frostbitten in the places where the hair has been cut off. The signs of ownership are the same both for bucks and for mares. Cult signs, as among the Tavgi, are not found among the
233 Dolgan. When the children of a family grow up and are given part
428 of the reindeer herd for their own, the old markings are left on the grown reindeer, and the new markings are put only on the offspring. The youngest son, who is the last in line to receive the family
[583] wealth, receives his father's markings by inheritance. The markings
233 of the husband are put on reindeer which are received as part of a
422 dowry. When an owner buys another reindeer he cuts his own markings into its ears, and one may often see reindeer with several markings in their ears. It must be added that when an owner has a large herd not all the reindeer are marked with the signs of ownership. The Dolgan have an amazing ability [Facing 198: Figure 16 on an unpaginated insert] [199] to recognize their own reindeer even after several years have passed, and even when the reindeer were only calves when last seen. Rich reindeer breeders often have more reindeer in their herds than they can count, but if they see one of their own reindeer in someone else's herd they recognize it at once, even if it has no markings; at the same time they are unable to say which

233 their clothing, and sometimes even help to look after the reindeer.
464 Such a woman--the assistant of the herdsmen, receives as payment
465 for the winter's work one grown reindeer plus her food and clothing. The herdsmen likewise receive food, winter clothing, hide for the soles of their footgear, and four or five reindeer as their pay.

233 Notwithstanding the fact that the reindeer as a riding animal plays
438 the most important role in the life of the Dolgan and is closely con-
492 nected with the activity of hunting, nevertheless the carrier's trade as a source of revenue has no significance in the economy of the Dolgan. Reindeer are usually employed for transporting the goods of mercantile organizations from Dudinka to Anabar. A 320-kilogram load is placed on one cargo sled. The pay for transporting one pood (sixteen kilograms) as far as Khatanga (one thousand kilometers) is equal to seven rubles, or 140 rubles for one sled. The trip to Khatanga with a cargo sled takes two and one-half months at a minimum. During this time the carrier loses reindeer 1) from starvation (in winter the usual picture along the main route is the skinned corpses of fallen reindeer), and 2) from wolves. When we were passing through the territory one of our contractors was obliged to leave his load on the road, without carrying it to Volosyanka, and he himself was only able to reach his home on someone else's reindeer, on account of the fact that all of his own reindeer had been scattered by the wolves. And this is by no means a rare case. In general, on the road there is very great danger of losing one's reindeer, not only to the wolves, but also in blizzards, during raids made by wild reindeer, and so forth. On the other hand, the transportation of loads for pay has an unhealthy effect on the economy of the Dolgan, for it draws the polar-fox hunters away from their basic occupation. Insufficient supervision on the part of the regional authorities has compelled the population, to their detriment, to undertake the transportation of loads, notwithstanding the very convenient combination of waterways and the possibility of transporting goods along these routes. (1)

114 1. These questions [of reindeer transportation of goods--Analyst] were touched on at one time by us in print: Sovetskaia etnografiia, 1931, No. III-IV, in the article "Poezdka k dolganam" [A Trip to the Dolgan].

178 As long as the transportation problem remains unsolved the native
439 carriers with their reindeer will do great harm to the population; on

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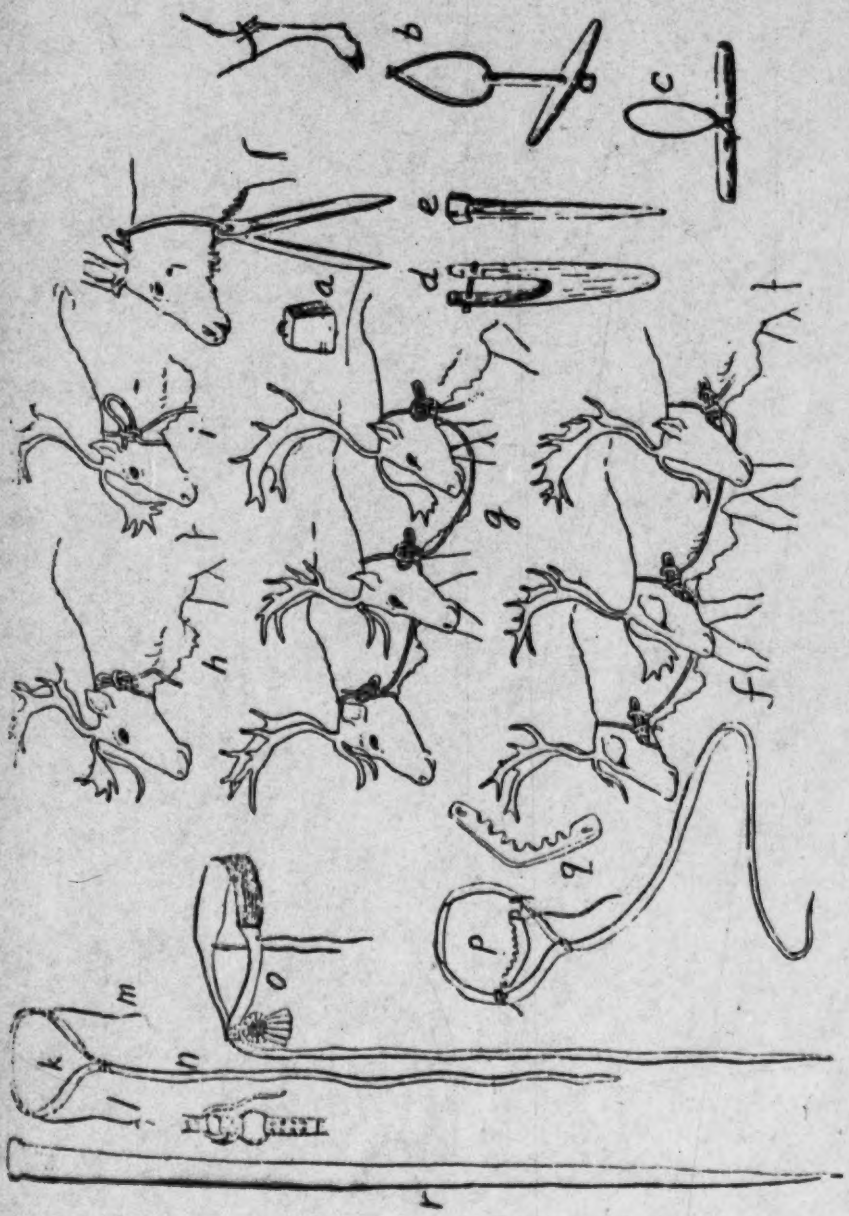


Fig. 2

Figure 2 [187]

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a, b, c -- bell fastened to the neck of a reindeer, and wooden hobbles; upper right -- hind leg of a reindeer, tied with a cord

d -- Reindeer leg hobble

e -- stick to which reindeer are tied

f -- quickly loosening knot

g -- knot for leading reindeer by a bridle

h -- male knot

i -- female knot

k -- halter for a male riding reindeer

l, m -- knots of the halter

o -- halter of a female riding reindeer

p -- halter with a small bone comb

q -- small bone comb

r -- reindeer saddle girth; at the side is shown the method of fastening the girth.

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Fig. 3

A -- male reindeer saddle
B -- female or pack reindeer saddle
h -- pommel, painted with ochre and decorated with tin encrustations
r -- glass beads sewn on a brightly-colored cloth

[191]

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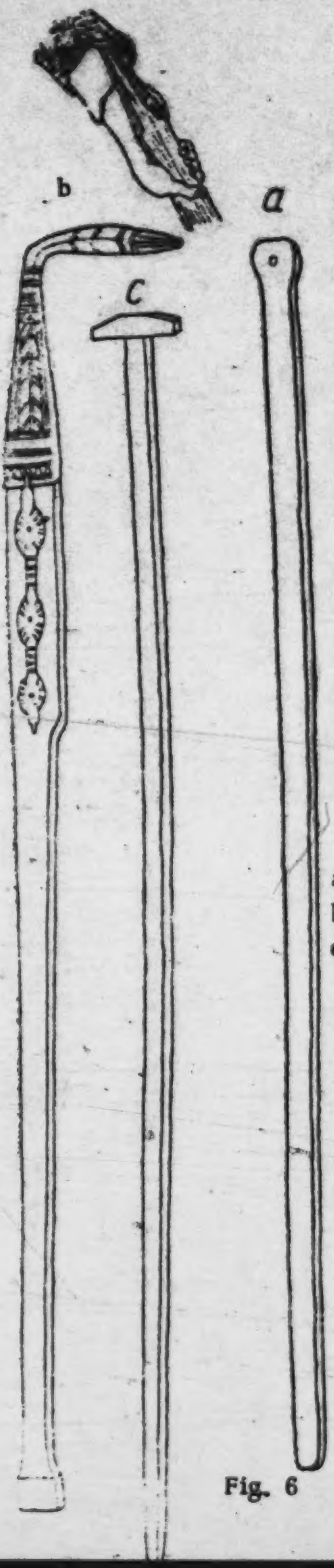


a--male
b--female with an iron top
c--old person's staff

Fig. 6

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Fig. 7
Man riding a reindeer

54: Popov--34 E-3 (no date) 1935 Yakut
Dolgan

[192]

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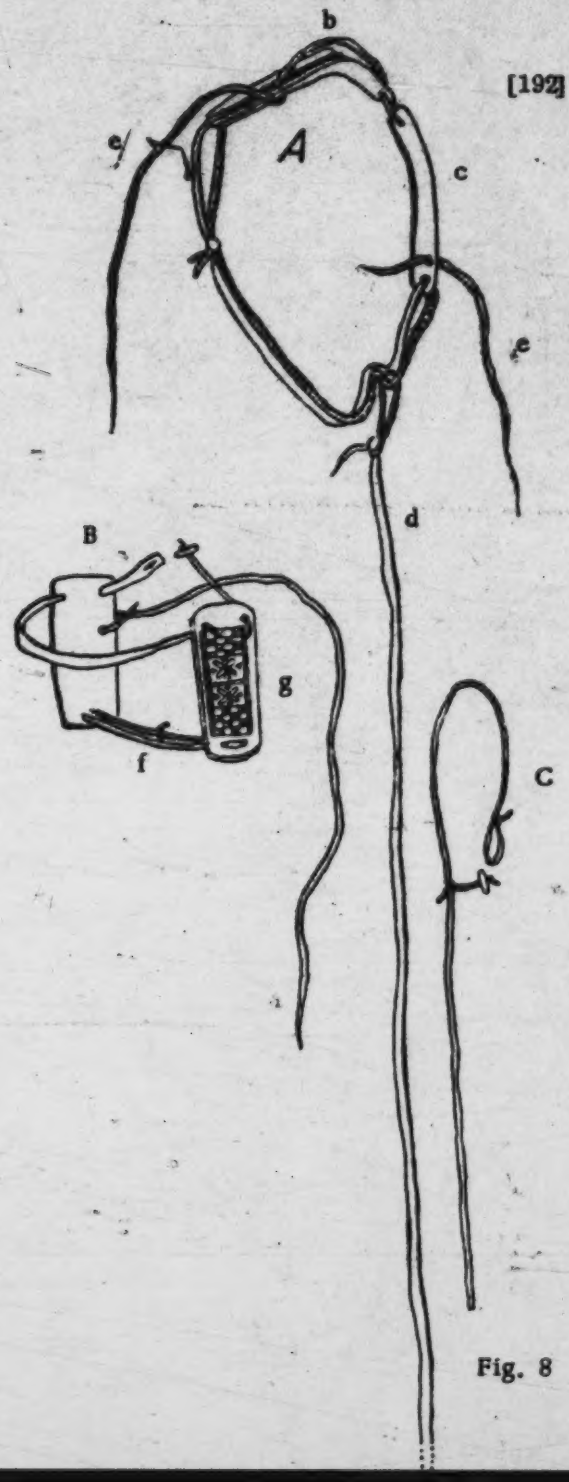


Fig. 8

233
492 Figure 8 [192]

A -- halter of a lead reindeer in a team which pulls a sled

b -- cheek bone

c -- rein bone

d -- reins

e -- thongs

B -- halter for an outrunner reindeer

f -- thongs connecting the plates

g -- cheekbone plates

C -- Neckcord for a reindeer in a pack harness

54: Popov--36 E-3 (no date) 1935 Yakut
Dolgan
[facing p. 192]

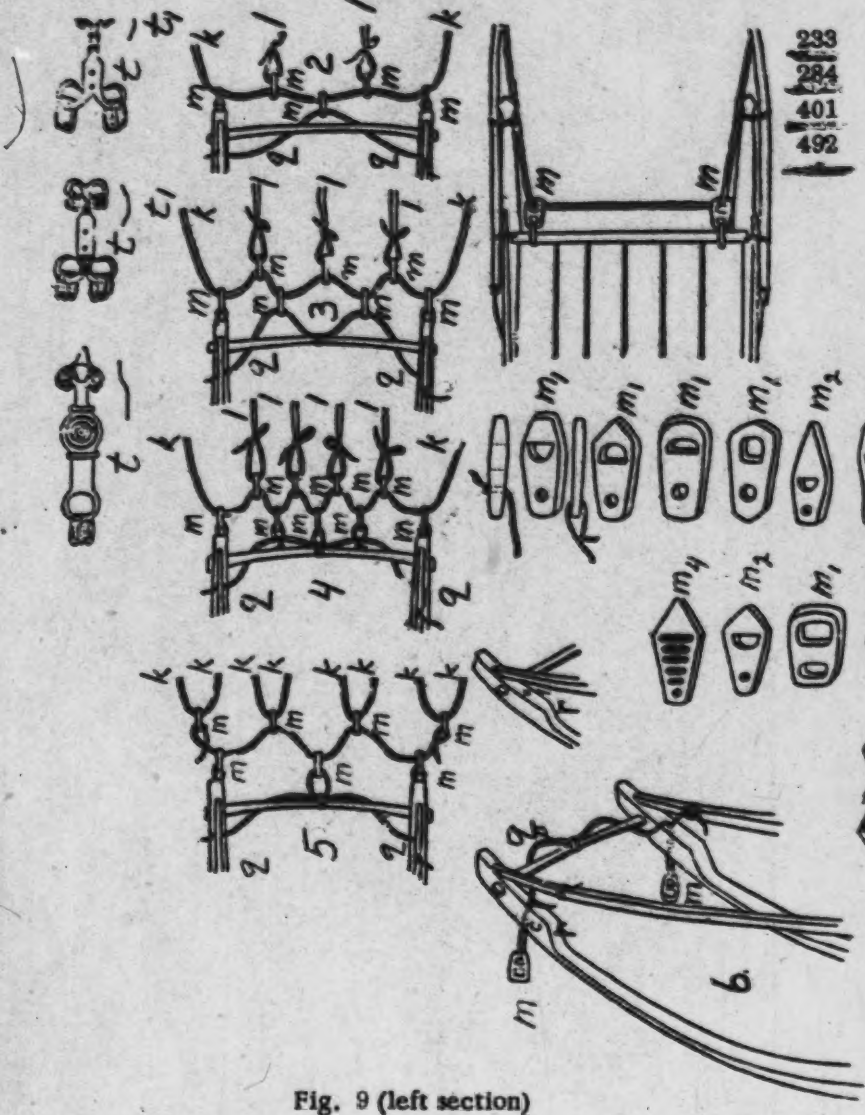


Fig. 9 (left section)

54: Popov--37 E-3 (no date) 1935 Yakut
Dolgan
[facing p. 192]

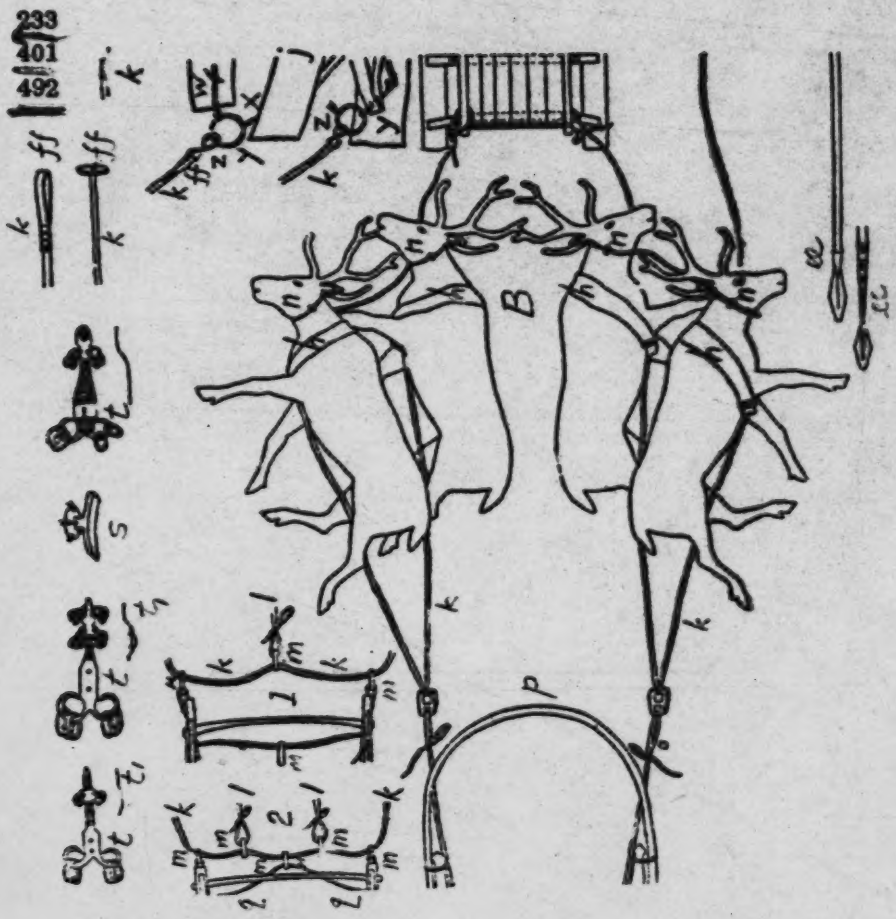


Fig. 9 (middle section)

54: Popov--38 E-3 (no date) 1935 Yakut
Dolgan
[facing p. 193]

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Fig. 9 (right section)

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Figure 9

A -- light harness
c -- lead reindeer
d -- outrunner reindeer
f -- halter on the lead reindeer
f -- halter on the outrunner reindeer
g -- thongs connecting the reindeer
h -- ala-straps
i -- thongs holding the ala-straps in place
$i_1$ -- loops to which are tied the thongs which connect the reindeer
j -- girth
k -- main rein
l -- outrunner reins
m -- pulleys for the reins
$m_1$ -- cargo pulley
$m_2$ -- pulleys for light sleds
$m_3$ -- fastening together of two pulleys in the absence of one pulley with two broad openings
$m_4$ -- pulley with emergency openings in case of breakage
n -- neckcord for a cargo reindeer
o -- rein for a cargo sled
p -- rose-willow arch
q -- straps to which are tied the side pulleys and the supplementary pulleys of the light sled
c -- reins
$b_1$ -- "Khorey" (h--small bone circle; aa--strap headband; ee--iron spear)
r -- openings in the ends of the runners for the straps of the side pulleys and the supplementary pulleys.
s -- bone hook for supporting the rein
t -- metal hooks for supporting the reins
$t_1$ -- side view of the hooks

B -- Cargo harness
D -- Detail of the Yurak harness
u -- loop to which is attached the cord from the girth

233 v -- cord running from the girth
284 ff -- end of the rein with a wooden buckle, and with a
401 loop instead of a buckle
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Detail of the Dolgan harness

bb, z, cc -- iron hooks and buckles through which is passed the end of the rein
y -- iron ring
w -- thongs by means of which the iron ring is fastened to the girth

Ways of arranging the pulleys

1 -- with three reindeer
2 -- with four reindeer
3 -- with five reindeer
4 -- with six reindeer
5 -- with eight reindeer
6 -- front end of a light sled with side pulleys

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
• Dolgan



somewhat to the north of this boundary. The migration from winter to summer camps and back was made in the spring or fall. 221

In winter, the families of Noril'sk and Popigay Dolgans lived apart from 361
one another, often singly. The remainder still continued to nomadize along 221
the northern edge of the forest and formed the chain of "stations" of the winter Noril'sk-Popigay highway; this consisted of groups of 5–10 households, some of the stations comprising groups of permanent dwellings. But since reindeer require frequent change of pasture, the camps of separate families and the entire stations, and the reindeer-herders living in the Russian-type houses as well, had to change their place of residence several times during the course of the winter.

As spring approached and the camps broke up, the Dolgans formed into nomadic groups. These groups were combined on a territorial basis and were bound by common economic interests. Associations of this kind meant [233]
that a smaller number of herdsmen was required for the reindeer since it took fewer people to look after a large herd than several small ones. In the spring, as soon as the grass appeared, and in the summer, during the season of the mosquitoes and other harmful insects, the Dolgans watched their herds the whole day through, appointing sentries from each household in turn. The nomadic Dolgans wandered along lakes, rivers and mountains. In the autumn, when the insects disappeared, each group of nomads divided up once more into separate families, which then nomadized in the region of their polar-fox traps, setting them again for the winter, or else hunted singly for wild reindeer until it was time to go back to the camps.

The reindeer-breeding of the Dolgans combined the traditions of the 233
Tungus breeding for purposes of riding, with devices and techniques bor- 177
rowed from the herders of the Samoyedic groups. Thus, the Dolgans used 492 •
reindeer both for riding and carrying (in summer) and at the same time made extensive use of reindeer sled-teams (in winter). But even in the first half of the 19th century the Dolgans in some parts only used their reindeer for riding. The various types of sleds are fundamentally similar to the Nennish and Nganasan types, but they also have the Yakut type with its low, straight staves. The harnessing technique differed from that of the Nentsy; [171]
the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the rein on the right, whereas among the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the left-hand rein (it should be noted in this connection that the Evenks and Dolgans, even when riding reindeer, mount from the right and also guide it from the right). The system of milking reindeer, typical of the Evenks, was retained by the Dolgans; like the Nentsy and Nganasans they also used herd dogs. The saddles and riding techniques of the Dolgans were of the Tungus type.

The Dolgans hunted polar fox, wild reindeer and various wildfowl including duck, geese and partridge. Until quite recently they still used 224
bows and arrows for the purpose, obtaining them from the Kets, via the Russians, and also from the Yakuts and southern Evenks. The Dolgans also had self-triggered bows for killing reindeer, which they set up in the forest preserves east of the Khatanga. According to legend, in the remote past [173]
the Dolgans used to hunt reindeer with slings and throwing-arrows.

The Dolgans attributed great importance to collective reindeer spearing in the autumn at river crossings, and to various hunting techniques with guns (which replaced the old bow and arrow). In the winter, the animals were hunted by means of specially trained decoy reindeer. In the winter they hunted reindeer with guns and bows and arrows almost entirely by the chasing technique: 4 strong reindeer were harnessed to a light sled and the herd was trailed for hours on end. Another form of winter hunting

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Dolgan



towards the reindeer in complete silence, and in summer they wore a protective gray coat the color of the stony tundra. Both in summer and autumn, until the first snow fell, the Dolgans used to trail wild reindeer with hunting dogs. They used poisoned bullets, and probably poisoned arrows as well in the past. As the poison they used rancid reindeer fat. The Dolgans living in the forest-tundra had wide skis of the Tungus type, but they could not use them in the tundra on account of the drifts.

Hunting wild reindeer was only of importance as a source of meat and skin for the Dolgans' own semisubsistence economy.

For catching geese they set traps or arranged noose-type snares by the nests, and also drove moulting geese into nets set up in advance or harried them with dogs and then killed them with sticks. Ducks were trapped with special nets stretched across lakes. Partridges were also caught this way, though only in winter. Sometimes a live female partridge was tied to the net as bait.

Polar-fox hunting was of quite considerable economic importance and produced the principal commercial yield. The animals were mainly caught with traps and snares. As it seized hold of the bait, the fox pulled away a stick and released a log which fell onto it. The principle of this trap was borrowed from the Russians; up to that time they had only set self-firing bows on stakes driven into the ground to catch the animals.

The commonest type of fishing tackle both in summer and winter under the ice was an upright net 6–30 m long. The nets were made of threads or horsehair brought from Yakutya. In the Noril'sk Rayon the nets were used in the autumn in mountain rivers. The draught animal employed for this purpose was the reindeer and the ropes from the net were attached to its saddle. Other types of nets were used to a very limited degree. Seines were also commonly used for sterlet, burbot, pike and grayling and trout with hooks prefabricated from bent 10-cm nails. Burbot was also caught with special bone points instead of hooks.

For traveling by water, mainly for fishing purposes, there were tree-trunk canoes brought by the merchants from the Yenisey, or bought from the Yakuts. There were few boats; it was only on the rivers Pyasina and Khatanga that they were used.

The Dolgans subsisted mainly on meat and fish. These were boiled or dried and the fish was also eaten in the raw, frozen and unfrozen forms. Fish was also kept in pits where it was pickled. Dead geese were kept buried in the ground. Certain roots were also eaten; they were dug up with reindeer horns or special wooden trowels.

The old type of nomadic dwelling among the Dolgans was the conical Tungus-type tent covered with thin panels of suede (in the summer) and deerhide (in the winter). In the old days the Dolgans, like the Evenks, built huts of the Yakut type, but without the windows, benches and hearth.

With the advent of the Russians the huts were gradually ousted by sled-tents or baloks. These are little huts on runners. The framework consists of wooden struts tightly covered with bright-colored calico, and on top, to keep it warm, there is a layer of deerskin and a canvas cover to guard against damp. In this kind of dwelling there are two windows with glass, an iron stove, bunks, a table, and sometimes even chairs. Whereas the erection of a pole tent required a great deal of labor during the cold winters, this type of tent can simply be pulled along the ground to a new site. These tents were borrowed in the last century from Russian merchants who traveled in them through the tundra.

Among other structures we should point out storehouses standing on high piles for keeping winter clothing and utensils.

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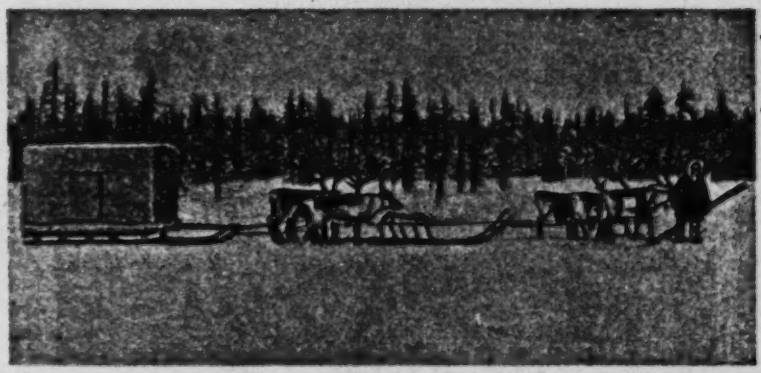
Dolgan





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Winter dwelling, sled tent.

There are more than a dozen versions of the Dolgan national costume, all with their special names, though only different in a few trivial details. The characteristic feature of both men's and women's clothing is a slightly elongated coattail at the back. The Dolgans themselves explain this by the fact that when sitting down on the cold ground in a tent they can spread out the long coattail underneath them. 291

Even before the Revolution household clothing for men and women was made of bought material. Men wore shirts and trousers of the Russian style, and women wore dresses, on top of which they put on aprons without openings. Both the men's shirts and the women's aprons almost always had side pockets and were embroidered with narrow colored piping and numerous buttons. They did not wear any underclothing. 291 177

In the summer and winter men and women wore a cloth coat called the sontap. In the winter they wore a second fox-fur or hareskin coat beneath it. In the winter instead of the cloth coats they sometimes wore the deerskin open dokha (parka) or short coat, and ventless fur clothing with a hood with the fur outside, i.e., the sokuy. When traveling the men wore a sokuy over their cloth coat or deerskin parka. In rainy summer weather a cloth sokuy was put on. In the winter the women wore a son or long polar-fox or hareskin coat, on top of which they had a sontap or sangyyak (deerskin coat). Men and women girdled their clothing with bead-studded belts. The mukalkaan, a bead-embroidered men's parka, was close to the Even type. The old-fashioned men's and women's aprons were also similar to the Even type. Men's and women's hats (bergese) were shaped like hoods. The top was cut from fox feet or from cloth, and was embroidered with beads or finished with narrow bands of colored cloth. Winter footwear was made of deer feet and came in two types: a type reaching to the knee or higher, corresponding to the Evenk boot and often ornamented with beads. 291 [531]

Summer footwear was made of suede. A hole was made in the middle of the sole in summer footwear so that any water leaking inside during walking could run out.

## Social Relations and Religion

By the time the Russians arrived, the Dolgans were splitting up into clans. Kinship was reckoned on the male side. There were certain traces 614 611

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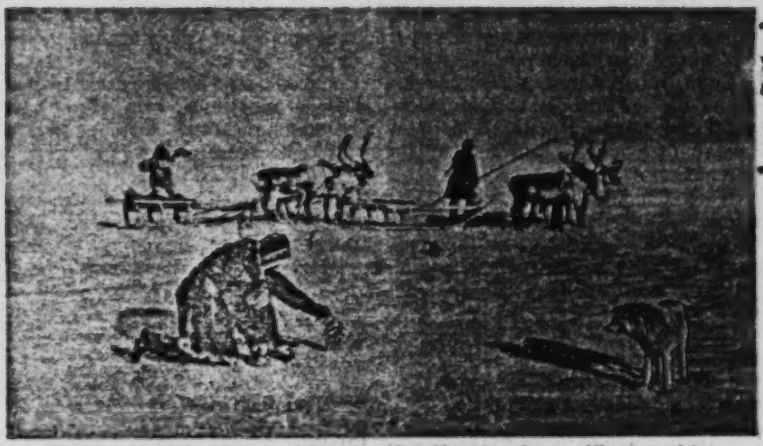
Dolgan





Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were considered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

## The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish National Okrug.

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The

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Dolgan



The personal property of the collective-farm members includes herds of reindeer (up to 100 head), transport equipment, vertical nets, hunting guns and hunting and fishing tackle. Reindeer-herding remains the chief branch of the economy, but is now done in accordance with good animal husbandry practice. A reindeer technician and a veterinary assistant are attached to each team, which looks after a subherd.]

The Dolgan reindeer-herders on the collective farms pasture the herds in good grazing ground, far from the herding tent by day, and as night falls drive them back to the tent. Having rested, the reindeer at midnight begin to feed near the tent; at dawn they are driven to new feeding grounds some distance away. This grazing system, on the one hand, keeps the reindeer well fed and, on the other hand, they do not stray during the night and are easy to watch. Twenty-four-hour-a-day, year-round guarding of the reindeer has become a rule in collective herding.

[The herd of reindeer is constantly growing. Thus, in the Avamskiy Rayon, the number of reindeer increased over the last five-year period, by more than 50%. The necessity of yearly migrations along the tundra from Dudinka to the Anabar has been eliminated; previously this had a most unfavorable effect on Dolgan reindeer-herding. The demand for pack-reindeer has been reduced, due to the carriage of goods into the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons by the Northern Sea Route; from here they are brought to remote inland points by steamboat or cutter. Previously, the only route connecting the Dudinka with the Avamskiy and Khatangskiy Rayons in the winter was the reindeer highway from Dudinka to Popigay. Connections are now maintained winter and summer by airplane, although reindeer transport is still of some importance. Its technology is unchanged.

[Hunting technology has been reconstructed. Traps are set in the autumn before the beginning of the blizzards. For this purpose, hunting brigades sometimes journey to the north for several hundred kilometers into the taiga, spending the nights in sled-tents with iron stoves. Hunting brigades are made up before the beginning of the season, traps being distributed on the basis of 150–200 pitfall traps and 10 springtraps per hunter. With the first snow the brigades go out into the tundra and begin to hunt wild reindeer. Foxtraps are baited with the surplus meat obtained. In the Khatangskiy Rayon alone, where the majority of the hunters are Dolgans, the collective farms during the 1948–49 season set 5000 new pitfall traps and prepared 1000 bait-pits for foxes, in which they placed more than 40 tons of bait.

[Fox-hunting begins on November 15th. Springtraps are placed by experienced hunters at places where wild reindeer have been killed in the autumn, or on the bloody tracks of wounded wild reindeer near bait-pits, or previously discovered burrows. Hunting is the main source of income for Dolgan collective farms. The previous predatory methods have gone out of use—spearings, stockades, geese nets. Fishing has become important in a number of areas. Vegetable-gardening and animal husbandry (other than reindeer) have developed on many Dolgan collective farms. The members grow chiefly radishes, cabbage and onions.

[A process of settling down the previously nomadic population is in progress. In the new settlements where the collective-farm members whose work does not make them nomadic live, dwelling-houses of the Russian type have been built, along with various other farm and public buildings. Many settlements have their own electric stations.]

The members of reindeer-herding and hunting brigades lead a nomadic life. Their families frequently travel with them. Separate nomadic groups are now set up, not on the basis of individual relations among different